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This month's cover was designed by Carvin M. Jefferson from his collection of African stamps.

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Africa's Diamond Industries

Diamonds remain big business in Africa. This is evident from the Annual Report of what is possibly the most monopolistic company in existence, published in Johannesburg earlier this year. In fact, De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited is not a company so much as an empire, which, through its Central Selling Organization (CSO), controls the sale of the majority of the world's rough and uncut diamonds. Estimates run as high as 85 percent of the total. In the 12 years between 1945 and 1956, overall sales through the CSO amounted to \$1,700,000,000, but in the following four years this figure grew to the staggering total of nearly \$2,700,000,000 and will reach the \$3,000,000,000 mark in the course of this year. Values of sales have grown tremendously in the last four years, from about \$215,000,000 in 1957 to an all-time record of \$255,000,000 in 1959. In 1960, it fell by \$4,000,000 to \$251,000,000, but sales in the first three months of 1961 reached a new record height for any three-months' period, at \$68,000,000. However, Harry Oppenheimer, Chairman of the De Beers' Group, has warned that sales cannot be expected to continue indefinitely at this exceptionally high level.

Congo's Production Highest

While diamonds are most frequently associated with South Africa, it is only the third biggest producer by volume in Africa. The largest producer is the former Belgian Congo which, under normal conditions, has an output of between 16 and 17,000,000 carats. Ghana is the second largest producer, with an output of some 3,000,000 carats. These totals compare with about 2,500,000 carats a year for South Africa.

There are, of course, two kinds of diamonds — (1) the highly-priced "gem stones" and (2) the lower valued "industrial," which consist, roughly speaking, of the "drilling stones" widely used in the manufacture of drilling crowns for the petroleum and other mining industries, and "crushing bort" which is used mainly for the manufacture of grinding wheels. Reliable production figures are not always readily available. The world output of industrial diamonds was estimated in 1957 (By *Vlaams Economisch Verbond* of Antwerp) at about 21,350,000 carats—composed of 6,650,000 carats of industrial stones and some 14,700,000 carats of crushing bort. Some 14,000,000 carats of crushing bort, or 95 percent of the total 1957 world production of this material, was produced in the Belgian Congo. Production has now been stepped up with the installation of a new plant by the *Societe Miniere du Beceka* (a subsidiary of the *Societe Generale de Belgique*), and the yearly output has increased to between 16,000,000 and 17,000,000 carats. Despite

the unstable political situation in the Congo since July 1960, diamond production has not dropped noticeably.

Some 90 percent of Ghana's diamond output—normally about 3,000,000 carats, worth some \$24,000,000 in 1959—consists of industrial stones; only about 10 percent of that country's total production is gem stones. In other major diamond producing countries of this continent, a larger proportion of the yield consists of gem stones, though here, also, reliable figures are scarce. South Africa (which has a large diamond cutting industry of its own) last year exported 1,600,000 carats of rough and uncut diamonds valued at over \$64,000,000 and, in addition, 129,545 carats of cut and polished stones worth just over \$30,000,000. Total production in South Africa amounts to some 2,500,000 carats a year, with a further 1,000,000 carats in South West Africa.

Guinea Moves Against Smuggling

Sierra Leone, reputedly producing about one-quarter of the world's entire gem output, last year exported diamonds valued at over \$42,000,000, while Tanganyika shipped out 536,000 carats worth \$12,800,000. A relatively large proportion of Angola's output of around a million carats also consists of gems. Production in Angola has apparently sky-rocketed this year: the first quarter's output was 480,775 carats as against 244,311 in the first three months of 1960. Smaller quantities of diamonds are produced by Liberia (which exported 638,000 carats valued at some \$2,000,000 in 1959); and by Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and the Central African Republic (which together produced 367,000 carats in 1958.) However, Guinea's production has risen sharply since 1958 as a result of tightened security measures against smuggling. Between 1958 and 1959, there was a nine-fold increase from 95,000 to 825,000 carats.

Until the end of 1960, almost the entire output of diamonds from these various countries (except Liberia) was sold under a series of five-year agreements through the De Beers' Central Selling Organization. In 1959, two important marketing developments took place. The Sierra Leone Government, in an effort to stamp out the large-scale illegal diamond traffic which had long bedeviled the country's economy, set up a Government Diamond Office which is now functioning very efficiently. Stones are now channelled by this Office to the CSO, which also handles the out-

(Continued on page 32)

¹ In 1956, official diamond exports were valued at \$4,000,000, while an estimated \$40,000,000 worth were smuggled out through neighboring territories.

a
special
report

COUNTRY-by-COUNTRY GUIDE to AFRICA

*Capsule summaries of
the history and current
political and economic
trends in 56 African
states and territories*

ALGERIA

Population: 10,300,000

Area: 851,300 square miles

Capital: Algiers

Political Status: Department of France in rebellion

Principal Political Figures: French President Charles de Gaulle; head of Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic Ben Youssef ben Khedda

In the seventh year of the nationalist rebellion against French rule, both the rebels and the Government of France appear ready to negotiate the formation of an interim government that would lead Algeria, together with its oil-rich Saharan portion, toward early independence. Since 1954, this war has cost France about a billion dollars a year and Algeria about one half million casualties.

The future rights of about one million Frenchmen in a Moslem Algeria and the ties that will associate an independent Algeria with France remain the principal unsolved issues. France has apparently conceded that it is its continued access to Saharan oil that matters, rather than sovereignty over the desert.

The FLN, on its part, appears prepared to guarantee French investment and certain base rights. A major remaining stumbling block to peace is the secret organization of French settlers and military men (OAS), bent on using terrorism against liberal Frenchmen no less than against Moslem Algeria to keep Algeria French. The tenuous position of General de Gaulle's government in France itself is also a crucial factor.

ANGOLA

Population: 4,550,000 (including 80,000 Europeans)

Area: 481,350 square miles

Capital: Luanda

Political Status: Portuguese Overseas Province

Angola was discovered by Portuguese navigators in 1482, and there region since the end of the fifteenth have been Portuguese settlers in the century. The territory is administered as a province of metropolitan Portugal, with a Governor General as the principal local authority. Angola has three deputies in the Portuguese National Assembly, and a 26-seat provincial Legislative Council advises on local matters.

Until early 1961, there was every indication that Portuguese colonial policy—which had had the long-term aim of assimilation of the African into Portuguese culture, and toward this end provided limited education

almost exclusively in the Portuguese language—had successfully insulated Angola against the influences of African nationalism.

After the independence of the Congo, with which Angola shares a 1,426 mile boundary, the "wind of change" swept in, however. An organized rebellion—which some observers believe may drag on into one of Africa's bloodiest and lengthiest colonial wars to date—began in northern Angola in March 1961. By late October, unofficial casualty figures listed up to 2,000 Portuguese and 50,000 African dead. Another 130,000 African men, women and children had fled the territory to escape the severely repressive Portuguese measures to quell the revolt.

Two major African nationalist movements now exist in the territory: the Conakry-based *Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola* (MPLA), led by Dr. Antonio Neto, now in exile in Cape Verde; and the *Uniao das Populacoes de Angola* (UPA), a northern-based peasant party operating from Leopoldville and led by Holden Roberto.

On August 28, Portuguese Overseas Minister Adriano Moreira announced a series of reforms with the stated objectives of improving the economic and social lot of Portugal's eight overseas provinces. Although no mention was made of the rebellion in Angola, the new plans were generally interpreted as Lisbon's olive branch to a world increasingly critical of Portugal's suppressive colonial policies.

The steps outlined would abolish the long-standing distinction between those relatively few privileged Africans who have "assimilated" Portuguese culture and civilization and the vast majority of tribal Africans. Henceforth, all will be citizens of Portugal sharing the same constitutional rights. The vote will be limited to Africans who learn to read and write Portuguese and those who can pay 200 escudos (\$7.00) per year in taxes, thus sharply limiting the actual African role unless there is drastic improvement in economic and educational opportunities open to the average African. Other changes mentioned include the introduction of collective bargaining, reorganization of the administration of justice, and extension of laws governing land rights to better assure the rights of occupants. At the same time, however, Dr. Moreira also announced new measures to encourage white settlement in Portuguese Africa, stressing especially the official hope that many of the Portuguese soldiers now fighting in Angola would choose to make the province their permanent home.

Coffee is Angola's principal export (45 percent of the total by value), followed by diamonds and fish products. Sisal, corn, wood, cotton, sugar, palm oil, and beans are also exported.

Although deposits of copper, manganese, phosphates, iron, tungsten, titanium, and mica are believed to be extensive, no thorough surveys have been made; oil has been struck in two regions, but exploitation has been delayed because of the political situation. Numerous rivers offer considerable hydroelectric potential.

BASUTOLAND

Population: 641,000

Area: 11,716 square miles

Capital: Maseru

Political Status: British High Commission Territory

Principal Political Figures: Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party; Chief Leabua Jonathan, leader of the National Party; Chief Seephephe Samuel Matete, leader of the Marema Tlou party; Basuto Paramount Chief Moshoeshe II

Basutoland, one of the three southern African territories which Britain declined to cede to South Africa when the Union was being formed in 1910, is an enclave only slightly larger than Maryland and entirely surrounded by South Africa. Of the territory's total area of 11,716 square miles, much is uncultivable because of the mountainous terrain. However, the hilly grasslands are suitable for grazing, and wool, mohair, and cattle, as well as sorghum and wheat, are produced in sufficient quantity for modest export. Part of the territory's revenue comes from its share of the Republic of South Africa's Customs and Excise Tax, still paid under the terms of a Customs Agreement reached in 1910. At least 180,000 of Basutoland's male citizens normally work across the border in the mines, industries, and farms of South Africa.

Under a new constitution which became effective in 1960, half of the members of the 80-seat national legislative council are now Africans, chosen indirectly by popularly-elected district councils. The traditional leader of the Basuto people, Paramount Chief Moshoeshe II, chooses 14 members of the National Council, which also includes 22 senior chiefs and four British-appointed officials. Veto power rests with the British Resident Commissioner.

The Basutoland Congress Party, which won a sweeping majority in February 1960 elections, is a modernist party which looks to Ghana and Guinea for its political models and talks confidently of further political advance. Since the 1960 disturbances in South Africa, Basutoland has become a gathering point for African nationalist exiles from South Africa,

and is likely to play an increasing role in the political evolution of southern Africa. However, the hard fact remains that—given existing economic and geographical realities—Basutoland probably could not survive without British protection.

University College of Pius XII, established in 1945 at Maseru, is the only institution of higher learning in southern Africa now providing equal academic facilities for all races.

BECHUANALAND

Population 337,000

Area: 225,000 square miles

Political Status: British protectorate and High Commission Territory

Capital: Lobatsi (temporarily)

Principal Political Figures:

Seretse Khama, former Chief of the Bamangwato tribe; Kgaleman T. Motsete, leader of the Bechuanaland People's Party; British High Commissioner Sir John Maud

The British protectorate of Bechuanaland, a vast and thinly-populated territory lying along the northern border of South Africa between South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia, is moving toward self-government under a new constitution introduced by Britain in 1961. The new legislature of 10 officials, 10 elected Europeans, 10 elected Africans, and one elected Asian is housed temporarily at Lobatsi, a small trading town on the South African border, but will probably be moved eventually to a new capital in the center of the territory.

Although some ten percent of the male population works in South African industries, cattle-raising is the principal local occupation. British grants-in-aid and Bechuanaland's

share of South African customs and excise taxes allotted to the protectorate under a 1910 agreement take up the slack in the budget, but economic problems mount as pastures deteriorate and the water shortage becomes more acute. A 1961 drought was particularly devastating.

Nationalism has been late-rising here, in part because there is only about one person per square mile. The Bechuanaland People's Party, founded in 1960, aims to "inculcate a sense of national unity and solidarity among the diverse and tribally-divided inhabitants of Bechuanaland," and intends eventually to campaign for further democratization of the country. The Bechuanaland Protectorate Federal Party, founded in 1959, also aims at instilling national consciousness into the eight tribes of the territory.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON

Population: 4,340,000

East Cameroon: 3,500,000

West Cameroon: 840,000

Area: 183,381 square miles

East Cameroon: 166,800 square miles

West Cameroon: 16,581 square miles

Federal Capital: Yaounde (East Cameroon)

Political Status: Independent federal republic

Principal Political Figures:

Federal: President Ahmadou Ahidjo; Vice-President John Ngu Foncha

East Cameroon: President Ahmadou Ahidjo; Prime Minister Charles Assale; Foreign Minister Charles Okala; leader of the Union des Populations du Cameroun party Theodore Mayi-Matip; leader of the Democrates Camerounais party Andre-Marie Mbida

West Cameroon: Prime Minister John Ngu Foncha; leader of the Opposition Dr. E. M. L. Endeley

The two parts of the present federation, plus the northern part of the former British Cameroons, recently joined to Nigeria, originally comprised the German protectorate of Kamerun (1884-1916). Following Germany's defeat in World War I, the Kamerun was partitioned into two territories which in 1922 became Mandates of the League of Nations under British and French administration, respectively. The Mandates were converted into Trusteeships under the United Nations in 1946. On

January 1, 1960, the former French trusteeship became an independent republic, the Republic of Cameroun. On February 11, 1961, the inhabitants of the Southern Cameroons under British Administration voted, in a plebiscite supervised by the United Nations, to join the Cameroun Republic in a political union when British trusteeship terminated on October 1.

The federal constitution agreed to by Cameroun President Ahidjo and Southern Cameroons Prime Minister John N. Foncha created a federal state headed by a Federal President and Vice-President. A political compromise written into the document named the incumbent chief executives of the two territories (Ahidjo and Foncha) to the new positions, respectively. The document also provides for the creation of a unicameral Federal Assembly, whose members would be elected for five years on the basis of one deputy per 80,000 inhabitants. Each of the component states will retain its present legislature and ministerial government, in addition to a broad range of reserved powers. The Federal Government, initially limited in the powers allocated it, will, after an undefined "transition period," be permitted to expand the scope of its powers.

The economy of the new Federal Republic is based almost entirely upon agriculture, with subsistence farming as the dominant activity. Export crops, which have increased considerably in the past few years, include coffee, cocoa, tropical woods, rubber, bananas, meat and livestock, and palm oil products. Prospects for the economic future of the federation include extensive road construction in the Western Cameroun; the construction of a railway from Yaounde north to Chad (the so-called "Douala-Tchad line") with the help of French, American, and OEEC funds; and the eventual exploitation of a deposit of bauxite in the Adamawa area estimated to contain at least 500,000,000 tons of high-yield ore.

CABINDA

Population: 50,233

A Portuguese exclave along the Atlantic coast, between the two Congo republics, administered as an integral part of Angola.

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

Population: 192,000

Area: 2,000 square miles

Political Status: Overseas

Province of Portugal

Capital: Praia

This group of 10 islands and 5 islets lies south of the Tropic of Cancer and northwest of Dakar on the West African coast. An important port of call, the islands produce excellent

Editor's Note

Special thanks are extended to the following area specialists who assisted with the preparation of the country-by-country guide in this issue of *Africa Report*: Sanford Berman, Al Castagno, Adam Clymer, Manfred Halpern, Okon Idem, Victor T. Le Vine, Martin Lowenkopf, Eduardo Mondlane, William Payne, Hella Pick, Carl Rosberg, and William Zartman.

I am also grateful to the *Washington Post* for allowing me to expand for use here some of the country studies I prepared for a similar feature in the Sunday "Outlook" section in 1960.—HK

quality coffee for export, as well as some goat hides, oranges, castor oil, brandy, mustard, sugar, potatoes, and canned fish.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Population: 1,180,000

Area: 238,000 square miles

Capital: Bangui

Political Status: Independent republic; member of French Community

Principal Political Figure: President David Dacko

The Central African Republic, known as Ubangi-Shari when it was a part of French Equatorial Africa, is a large, landlocked country with only one real town, the important river port of Bangui. Threaded by a network of rivers and possessing the best road transport of the four equatorial states, the republic has long been a trading crossroads for the area. Almost all of Chad's overland exports, for example, move south through Bangui. While the country has no major resources comparable to those of Gabon, its agricultural economy is well-balanced and some 350,000 carats of diamonds are mined annually. Principal cash crops are coffee, cotton, and forest products—though the potential of the latter has barely been tapped.

The principal political party, the governing *Mouvement d'Emancipation Sociale de l'Afrique Noire*, suffered a major setback with the death in 1959 of its founder, Barthélemy Boganda, undisputed leader of the country since 1942 and dedicated proponent of the plan for a United States of Latin Africa. Governmental stability has been maintained, however, and a potentially serious internal rift in MESAN was apparently healed by the beginning of 1960. A presidential system was adopted in 1961, thus strengthening the position of M. David Dacko as spiritual heir to Boganda.

CHAD

Population: 2,730,000

Area: 513,600 square miles

Capital: Fort Lamy

Political Status: Independent republic; member of French Community

Principal Political Figure: President François Tombalbaye

The largest and most isolated of the four states of former French Equatorial Africa is the Republic of Chad, which stretches northward to the southern border of Libya, southward to the Central African Republic, and shares some 600 miles of western border with Sudan. The vast

size of the country, the lack of significant economic resources, poor transportation, and the sharp cleavages between the Arabized Moslem north and the Christian-animist south are the most significant barriers to education, nationhood, and political stability. Chad, under President François Tombalbaye's southern-based *Parti Progressiste Tchadien*, is associated with the more conservative grouping of African states, the Brazzaville Twelve.

Although Chad has many agricultural potentialities, its products are unable to compete freely on world markets because the country has no railroads, the nearest port is 1500 miles away, and there are less than 14,000 miles of inadequate internal roads and trails. Cotton, rice, and cattle are the main exports, mostly shipped to France via Nigeria or via Bangui and Brazzaville, far to the south, at subsidized prices. Various plans to provide Chad with a direct rail or highway link with the outside world are under study in cooperation with neighboring states.

COMORO ISLANDS

Population: 182,000

Area: 1,000 square miles

Capital: Dzaoudzi

Political Status: Overseas territory of France

The Comoro Archipelago lies between the northern tip of Mozambique on the East African coast, and Malagasy in the Indian Ocean. Vanilla and perfume plants (citronella, ylang-ylang, etc.) are grown for export.

CONGO (Brazzaville)

Population: 760,000

Area: 132,046 square miles

Capital: Brazzaville

Political Status: Independent republic; member of French Community

Principal Political Figure: President Fulbert Youlou

The Republic of the Congo, known as Moyen Congo when it was part of pre-1958 French Equatorial Africa, became an independent republic in August 1960, but remains closely associated with France through the Community and economic assistance agreements. The governing *Union Démocratique de Défense des Intérêts Africains* (UDDIA) has consolidated its predominance by various means since 1958, and in the first national elections held since independence in March 1961, Mr. Youlou was unopposed for the presidency.

President Youlou, who is often alleged to have close ties with right-

wing extremists in France, has been the only outspoken African supporter of Moïse Tshombé's efforts to obtain independent status for Katanga. The grouping of French-speaking African states known as the Brazzaville Twelve takes its name from the Congo capital, where the 12 powers held their second meeting in December 1960.

Although the country's exports of timber, palm oil, peanuts, lead, and tobacco are not sufficient to create a favorable balance of trade, the Congo enjoys considerable economic benefit from its transportation resources; these include the major Atlantic port (Pointe Noire) and the only railway of the former French Equatorial African federation, as well as the port facilities at Brazzaville, across the Congo River from Leopoldville. A projected hydroelectric scheme and aluminum smelter on the Kouilou River could enhance the country's long-range economic potential.

The Congo also enjoys certain educational advantages not shared by some of its larger neighbors. The country is small and compact and over one-fifth of the population lives in the two principal cities of Brazzaville and Pointe Noire. These factors, combined with considerable French financial assistance and the diligent activities of missionaries over a relatively long period, have resulted in a literacy rate well above the African average (10 percent, according to official figures, with 65 percent of school-age children now attending school). French is the official language and is used in all schools, in part because of the great tribal and linguistic diversity of the country.

CONGO (Leopoldville)

Population: 13,652,857

Area: 905,378 square miles

Capital: Leopoldville

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figures:

President Joseph Kasavubu;
Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula;
Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga;
President of Katanga Province
Moïse Tshombé

Even as late as 1955, it was regarded as radical heresy when a Belgian professor proposed self-government for the Congo in 30 years. Under the system of paternalistic rule which was in force until the very eve of independence, neither the Congo's educational system nor its political institutions was designed to produce or train personnel for leadership positions. Literacy was 40 percent—high for Africa, facilities for technical education were among the best on the continent, and Africans

shared many material benefits of Congolese economic prosperity, but the total number of university graduates was reportedly less than 20.

When Brussels abruptly decided in January 1960 to get in the forefront of the "wind of change" and offer the Congo political freedom, the new parliamentary institutions hastily constructed and manned did not have time to grow steady roots. The collapse of the country less than a fortnight after independence was triggered by the rebellion within the Belgian-offered *Force Publique*, which in turn panicked the European population. On July 12, 1960, President Kasavubu and the late Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba requested the "urgent dispatch" of UN military assistance "to protect the national territory of the Congo against the present external aggression which is a threat to international peace."

Sixteen months later, there is now cautious hope that the UN force may nearly have fulfilled its mission. A reasonably stable government has been created at the center under Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula, incorporating both radical and moderate elements. Antoine Gizenga, heir to the Lumumba mantle, joined the government in August as vice-premier. The survival of this delicate coalition is, however, crucially dependent upon the early reintegration of Katanga Province into the Congo state.

A UN effort to remove European "mercenaries" from influential positions within the Katanga Army by force failed in September, and a cease-fire was subsequently signed between the UN and Katanga. Since the death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld on a mission aimed at persuading Mr. Tshombe to negotiate his reentry into the Congo, UN efforts have been directed toward getting political talks started between the Katanga regime and the central government. Unless these talks get underway soon and show promise of being fruitful, there is a possibility that the central government will launch an offensive of its own and/or the Afro-Asian nations in the United Nations will press that body to give its forces in the Congo a clear mandate to end the secession of Katanga. Since September 21, when hostilities ended in Katanga, both the UN and the Katangese have been bolstering their respective military capabilities. Thus any new outbreak of hostilities is likely to assume far more serious dimensions. Several skirmishes between central government and Katangese troops were reported as November began.

While the Congo's liquid assets are now virtually nil, its long-term economic potential remains impressive. Sixty percent of the world's cobalt, 70 percent of its industrial diamonds, and 10 percent of its copper and tin

normally come from the Congo. And though minerals accounted for three-fifths of the country's exports in 1959, the variety of exports was greater than that of any African country except South Africa. Besides many locally-consumed agricultural products produced within the northern and southern savannah areas, there were in times of peace exportable surpluses of palm oil, rubber, coffee, bananas, tea, and cotton. The gross national product in 1958—more than a billion dollars—was exceeded in Africa south of the Sahara only by Nigeria and South Africa.

The tumultuous rapids of the Congo River provide the country with one of the most impressive hydro-electric potentials in Africa, and Belgian planners envisaged the eventual creation of a vast power complex at the Inga Rapids comparable to that of the Ruhr industrial basin. Full development of the Inga Rapids Project would yield an installed capacity of more than 25,000,000 kilowatts—more than 10 times that of the Grand Coulee dam in the US.

DAHOMY

Population: 1,713,000

Area: 44,695 square miles

Capital: Porto Novo

Political Status: Independent republic; member of the four-nation Conseil de l'Entente

Principal Political Figure: President Hubert Maga

A long finger of land reaching 372 miles inland from the Atlantic coast, Dahomey is a primarily agricultural country still heavily dependent upon French economic assistance. Considerable quantities of palm products and peanuts are exported, but their total value is barely half that of imports. The ratio of school-age children in school has long been among the highest in West Africa, however, and Dahomey has supplied civil servants to neighboring countries. Although Porto Novo is the seat of government, the chief port and business center is Cotonou, whose port is now being greatly expanded under a French-financed \$20,000,000 development program.

Following accession to full independence in August 1960, Dahomey adopted a new constitution in November of that year calling for the establishment of a unitary state under a strong presidency. President Hubert Maga, once a northern Moslem school teacher, heads a government which has gradually absorbed or eliminated a complex of competing parties since he came to power as head of a compromise coalition government in 1959. In 1960, Maga's *Rassemblement Democratique Dahomeen* (RDD) was amalgamated with former Prime Minister Sourou Mig-

an Apithy's *Parti Republicain du Dahomey* to form the *Parti Dahomeen de l'Unité*; in the spring of 1961 President Maga announced the dissolution—i.e., banning—of the *Union Democratique Dahomeen*. This apparent national unity has been achieved by manipulation rather than integration, however, and Dahomey cannot be described as politically stable.

Dahomey flirted briefly with the now-defunct Mali Federation in early 1959, but in May of that year joined instead the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, and Niger in organizing the anti-federalist *Conseil de l'Entente*. It is one of the members of the *Union Africaine et Malgache* (i.e., Brazzaville Twelve), but has not rejoined the French Community since independence.

EGYPT

(United Arab Republic)

Population: 27,000,000

Area: 363,000 square miles

Capital: Cairo

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figure: President Gamal abd al-Nasir

Since the coup of the Syrian separatists in late September, Egyptian authority is once again confined to Egypt. Though its three-year old union with Syria has ended, Egypt will continue to call itself the United Arab Republic. It remains the most populous state by far among the Arabs, and the second most populous in Africa.

Since 1958, Egyptian energies have been concentrated upon doubling the standard of living within 10 years, to about \$250 per capita. To this end, the Aswan High Dam is being speeded to conclusion within one decade rather than two. The National Union, Egypt's sole political movement, is proving to be an increasingly effective instrument for mobilizing, under careful control, the broader participation of peasants in rural reconstruction and of workers in the councils of industry. This year, the government assumed ownership or control of most large industries and all banks and insurance companies in order to facilitate planning of investment and production. At the same time, all regional Ministries were abolished and centralized under Egyptian predominance. These last two measures may well have proved decisive, however, in alienating Syrian businessmen and politicians faced with final displacement. For Egypt itself, the question will remain open for some years to come whether an undoubtedly high rate of growth will be vitiated by too rapid an expansion of population.

In African affairs, Egypt maintains its ties with the more radical Casablanca grouping. Among neutralists of the larger Afro-Asian world, it has been taking an increasingly more prominent role, based in part on growing experience with both the useful and threatening facets of Soviet interest in Arab and African affairs.

ETHIOPIA

Population: 21,800,000

Area: 400,000 square miles

Capital: Addis Ababa

Political Status: Independent monarchy

Principal Political Figures:

Emperor Haile Selassie I;

Crown Prince Afsa-Wossen Haile Selassie

There are no political parties in Ethiopia, and all political power remains centralized in Emperor Haile Selassie. Since the abortive coup d'état of December 1960, when a section of the Imperial Guard unsuccessfully revolted during the Emperor's absence from the country and attempted to install the Crown Prince on the throne, security precautions have been increased, but the Emperor has also attempted to deal affirmatively with the discontent in the country uncovered by the revolt. He has reconstituted his administration to include younger and more progressive men in key posts, and has placed new emphasis on improvement of education and other reforms. Few observers of the Ethiopian scene believe that these partial measures will contain the forces for fundamental change, though there seems as yet to be no overt opposition movement.

Agriculture employs 90 percent of the Ethiopian people and accounts for a similar percentage of the na-

tion's exports. Ethiopia is generally regarded as the original home of the coffee tree, and the word "coffee" is said to be derived from the Kaffa region in the southwestern part of the country where much of Ethiopia's annual export production of some 33,000 metric tons grows wild. Ethiopia's agricultural potential is impressive, and the introduction of fertilizers, irrigation, and other improvements is already effecting improvements in output.

FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

Capital: Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia

Principal Political Figure: Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, sometimes called the Central African Federation, consists of the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia and the British protectorates of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. It was established in 1953, largely under the aegis of European settlers impressed by the potentialities of interplay among the three complementary economies. The federal constitution specified that membership would not affect the individual constitutional status vis-à-vis Britain of any of the three member territories, though the founders clearly anticipated that the new political grouping would eventually become an independent state within the Commonwealth.

The conservatism of the Federation's white governing elite, led by Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party, on the issue of African political evolution has convinced African political leaders that the multiracial state envisaged in the preamble to the Federation constitution is not a serious goal. Moreover, growing African political consciousness has rendered multiracialism barely half a loaf. Pressure for dissolution is growing, and this issue is likely to dominate the full constitutional review tentatively set for London in 1962.

I. Nyasaland

Population: 2,830,000

Area: 45,365 square miles

Capital: Zomba

Political Status: British protectorate within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Principal Political Figures: Dr. Hastings Banda; Governor Sir Glyn Jones

Although Nyasaland is the poorest and least developed of the three territories of the Federation, the re-

sulting lack of white settlers has allowed African political development to proceed in recent years more rapidly and peacefully than in either of its more advanced neighbors. In August 1961, Dr. Hastings Banda's dominant Malawi Congress Party swept 22 out of 28 elected Legislative Council seats in the country's first general elections held under constitutional reforms introduced by Britain in 1960. There is no specific provision at this time for the elevation of Dr. Banda to Chief Minister and no timetable for future changes in the political structure, but the long-term commitment to rule by the African majority and eventual independence is now clear. Dr. Banda has repeatedly demanded the breakup of the Federation, and has indicated that he might eventually take his country into an East African Federation with Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, et al.

II. Northern Rhodesia

Population: 2,300,000

Area: 287,640 square miles

Capital: Lusaka

Political Status: British protectorate within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Principal Political Figures: Governor Sir Evelyn Hone; Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party

British efforts to effect a peaceful withdrawal of power from its Northern Rhodesian protectorate have been complicated by the presence of some 72,000 European settlers, whose only home is Rhodesia and whose past and future lives are closely tied to the great mining industries of the territory's Copperbelt. Faced with intense competing pressures from settlers (who would retain the political status quo) and from African nationalists (who demand early steps toward independence under majority rule), British policy toward constitutional change has vacillated sharply during recent months.

Constitutional proposals set forth by Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod in February 1961, in the wake of an inconclusive roundtable conference in London, were angrily rejected by Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky and the governing United Federal Party. The complex proposals—calling for a 45-seat legislature comprised of 15 members elected from an "upper roll," 15 from a "lower roll" of African voters, and 15 from both rolls—seemed likely to produce a slim African majority. Equally complex amendments introduced in June to assuage settler pressures on the Conservative Party appeared to

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tip the balance in favor of a likely European majority. The reaction by the Africans (as well as the British Labor Party) to the amended constitutional proposals reached such proportions that in September Britain announced its willingness to reopen the whole constitutional issue for further discussion—if, and when, the wave of African political violence which began in July could be brought to an end. This qualification poses a severe challenge for UNIP leader Kenneth Kaunda, whose dogged commitment to non-violent political evolution for his people had imperiled his hold on his party in a summer of mounting African frustration. The replacement of Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod in early October promised to complicate the Northern Rhodesian situation, for the African leadership's faith in Macleod's personal integrity has been a major factor in keeping the situation open to negotiation.

III. Southern Rhodesia

Population: 3,070,000

Area: 150,333 square miles

Capital: Salisbury

Political Status: Self-governing British colony within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Principal Political Figures: Prime Minister Sir Edgar Whitehead; Joshua Nkomo, leader of the National Democratic Party

The British flag was first raised over Southern Rhodesia in 1890, and the territory has been a self-governing colony since 1923. European settlers—now numbering about 215,000—have continued to hold a firm monopoly of power, and the African population remained largely politically quiescent until the late 1950's. Now, however, the nationalist-minded National Democratic Party, led by Joshua Nkomo, is directly challenging the established power structure and rallying increasing popular support behind its demand for majority (i.e., African) rule. The NDP boycotted a July 1961 referendum on a new constitution which would give Africans their first representation in the territorial Parliament, on the grounds that 15 out of 65 seats were inadequate in view of the demographic facts; Africans also oppose the constitutional provision which would remove the British Government's residual power to veto discriminatory legislation, and transfer this function to an internal Constitutional Council. Final enactment of these constitutional changes as endorsed by the referendum will require action by the British House of Commons.

Compromise between the colony's

increasingly militant Africans and the conservative settlers who dominate the government will be difficult to achieve, and racial strife could reach serious proportions before Southern Rhodesia's political future is clearly set. Some Europeans, anticipating early African rule in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, favor a political affiliation between Southern Rhodesia and neighboring South Africa.

GABON

Population: 421,000

Area: 102,317 square miles

Capital: Libreville

Political Status: Independent republic; member of the French Community

Principal Political Figures:

President Leon M'ba; Foreign Minister Jean-Hilaire Aubame

The smallest and least-populated of the states of former French Equatorial Africa, Gabon is nonetheless the only one of the four to enjoy a favorable balance of trade and immediately promising economic prospects. Contained within its borders are one of the world's largest deposits of manganese, one of sub-Saharan Africa's two largest proven oil reserves, two significant high grade iron ore deposits, some known uranium, and valuable timber resources. Oil output reached 800,107 metric tons in 1960, and wood exports in that year were valued at \$35,000,000. Moreover, Gabon's location on the Atlantic coast provides easy accessibility to world markets.

France and Gabon signed their first treaty in 1839, and relations continue to be close despite the accession of the country to full independence in August 1960. Gabon, whose government is one of Africa's most conservative, remains a member of the French Community, has signed various bilateral accords with France, is an active member of the so-called Brazzaville grouping of French-speaking African states, and sells 75 percent of its exports to its associates in the European Common Market. It has steered clear of proposals to establish a political federation with its poorer equatorial neighbors.

In national elections held in February 1961 under a new presidential constitution, Mr. M'ba—who had previously been Prime Minister—was the only candidate for the presidency on a single list presented by his own *Bloc Democratique Gabonais* and the former opposition group, *Union Sociale Gabonaise*. The latter's leader, Jean Hilaire Aubame, subsequently became Minister of Foreign Affairs in a new cabinet of "national union."

GAMBIA

Population: 279,600

Area: 4,011 square miles

Capital: Bathurst

Political Status: British colony (Bathurst and some adjoining land) and inland protectorate

Principal Political Figures:

Governor Sir Edward Windley; Chief Minister (and leader of the governing United Party) P.S. N'Jie; David K. Jawana, Opposition leader and head of the People's Progressive Party

Under an agreement reached at a constitutional conference in London in July 1961, Gambia—Britain's last dependency on Africa's west coast—will have general elections in May 1962, internal self-government later the same year, and full independence probably by the end of 1963. The territory consists of a small colony at the mouth of the Gambia River, which has been under British authority since 1783, and a long narrow inland protectorate extending some 300 miles upstream along either side of the Gambia River into the heart of Senegal. Surrounded by Senegal on its three landward sides and bound to its larger neighbor by ethnic, economic, and Islamic bonds of long standing, Gambia is a logical candidate for federation. However, a Gambia-Senegal interministerial committee which met in Dakar in June 1961 decided against early steps toward federation, though favoring coordination of surface, air, and river transport, telecommunications, meteorological services, economic planning, and use of the Gambia River for agricultural purposes.

Ninety percent of Gambia's exports are peanuts, mostly raised by peasant farmers of the protectorate, with the assistance of itinerant Senegalese. Some 85 percent of the population is Moslem.

GHANA

Population: 6,690,730

Area: 92,000 square miles

Capital: Accra

Political Status: Independent republic; member of the British Commonwealth; loosely joined with Guinea and Mali in the "Union of African States"

Principal Political Figure: President Kwame Nkrumah

Ghana, the former British colony of the Gold Coast, became an independent state on March 6, 1957, incorporating the UN Trust Territory of British-administered Togoland.

The few short years since independence have wrought striking political changes. Ashanti separatism, which threatened in 1957 to split the nation, has been completely dissipated. The State has not merely held together but is governed by a single, all-powerful radical socialist party, whose web of authority now extends over the entire country, embracing farmer, youth, and labor movements. On July 1, 1960 following a national plebiscite, a new republican constitution came into force which assigns wide powers to President Nkrumah as both Head of State and Head of Government.

Meanwhile, Dr. Nkrumah, perhaps the continent's most dedicated advocate of pan-African unity, has taken the lead in various moves toward this end, sponsoring the first Conference of Independent African States in Accra in April 1958 and the first All-African People's Conference in December of the same year. In September 1958, Ghana established a loose union with Guinea, which in 1960 was extended to include Mali as well; this grouping, which calls itself the "Union of African States," has no functioning central institutions except regular meetings of the three heads of state, but rather is dedicated to the pursuit of certain common objectives. These generally parallel the goals enunciated in the African Charter drawn up at the Casablanca Conference in January 1961—non-alignment in the East-West conflict, opposition to foreign bases in Africa, liberation of colonial territories, and closer working relationships in all fields among African states.

A widespread strike of railway, harbor, and bus workers in September 1961 set in motion Ghana's gravest internal political and economic crisis since independence. The strikes were sparked by the traumatic 1961-62 budget introduced by President Nkrumah in July, which called for sweeping tax reforms and the collection of forced savings to help

finance development plans. The strikers finally went back to work after 18 days under strong government pressure, but the vital question still unanswered is whether the rank and file of Ghana—the backbone of the CPP—is sufficiently disenchanted with Nkrumahism to pose a serious challenge to the existing power structure. In October, Nkrumah introduced major changes in his cabinet to rid it of critics of his economic policies and has ordered the arrest of several leading Ghanaians suspected of working to unseat him from the presidency. While Dr. Nkrumah apparently believes that the principal threat to his position comes from conservative elements, most observers believe that the longer-term challenge to his rule will be from the CPP's left wing.

The austerity budget was necessary, President Nkrumah believed, if Ghana's ambitious \$680,000,000 Development Plan for 1959-64 was to be fulfilled. This plan, which depends upon both internal and external financing, calls for major expansion of secondary education, a new harbor at Tema, new roads, railways, and hospitals, an oil refinery, a start on the giant Volta River Scheme, and a range of other projects designed to strengthen Ghana's human and economic base for the future. The problem of financing development of this magnitude has been heightened by an alarming drop in Ghana's foreign exchange reserves—from some \$250,000,000 at the time of independence in 1957 to less than £100,000,000 in 1961—largely as a result of dropping cocoa prices, loans to other African nations, Ghanaian participation in the Congo UN force, capital investment, and mounting local "prestige expenditures."

One of the reasons that President Nkrumah has attached so much importance to the Volta River Scheme is because of the potentiality it offers for diversifying Ghana's economy and

lessening the country's heavy dependence on cocoa. Over 410,000 tons of cocoa were marketed in 1960-61, as well as some gold, timber, diamonds and manganese.

GUINEA

Population: 2,727,000

Area: 95,000 square miles

Capital: Conakry

Political Status: Independent republic loosely joined with Ghana and Mali in the "Union of African States"

Principal Political Figures:

President Sekou Toure; President of the National Assembly Saifoulaye Diallo; Minister of Public Works Ismail Toure

In the September 1958 referendum, Guinea—alone among France's African territories—voted overwhelmingly against affiliation with the French Community then being formed and in favor of becoming a fully-independent republic outside the Community. In retaliation for this defection, France quickly pulled out virtually all French administrative staff (almost three quarters of Guinea's bureaucracy at that time) as well as technical personnel and capital equipment. During the first weeks of independence, there were many who believed that complete economic and administrative collapse was inevitable.

Under the leadership of President Sekou Toure and the governing *Parti Democratique de Guinee*, the country almost miraculously survived and consolidated its independence—with the help of an emergency loan from Ghana of \$28,000,000, temporary assistance from Senegalese teachers in keeping schools operating, and, eventually, large-scale infusions of Soviet Bloc financial and technical assistance. In December 1958, the internal position of the PDG as the predominant influence in the country was assured when the opposition parties fused with the governing party.

Today, the disciplined one-party state of Guinea is the model for younger radical nationalists throughout Africa. Along with every other institution of national life, the education system has been drastically reshaped to serve the overriding national objective—the mobilization of a population speaking 14 distinct languages and segmented for centuries into three mutually-antagonistic ethnic groups into a nation of dedicated common purpose. Guinea's governing elite is strongly influenced by Marxian socialism, but there is no desire to pattern the new Guinean society on any specific extra-African model. The increased emphasis on teaching African history, languages, and cultural values in Guinean schools is only one of many

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manifestations of the PDG's concern with giving its socialism a uniquely African personality. In 1961, there was also new evidence—increasing relationships with the United States, a new cultural agreement with France, for example—that the government of President Sekou Toure seeks to diversify its international relationships. Guinea's foreign policy—as articulated in the declarations of the African Charter of the Casablanca Conference of January 1961 and in the statement of objectives of its loose union with Ghana and Mali—emphasizes non-alignment and the rapid decolonization of Africa.

Although diversified agriculture remains the principal economic activity of Guinea, increasing amounts of bauxite and iron ore have been mined since World War II, and gold and diamonds are both exported in some quantity. The largest single industrial unit is the large aluminum plant at Fria, about 100 miles from Conakry, where bauxite deposits estimated at some 200,000,000 tons are being developed by an international investment syndicate at a cost of about \$130,000,000. The Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation, an American firm, controls 48.5 percent interest in the Fria operation, which also involves British, French, Swiss, West German, and other interests. Iron ore deposits in the Kaloum Peninsula are estimated at over 200,000,000 tons. Guinea's principal trading partner was France until 1958, but the break in French-Guinea relations in 1958 resulted in a major shift of the republic's foreign trade to Sino-Soviet Bloc countries.

IFNI

Population: 46,903

Area: 741 square miles

Capital: Sidi Ifni

Political Status: Spanish province

Principal Political Figure: Pedro Latorre Alcubierre, Governor-General

In 1958, 24 years after Spanish occupation, Ifni was accorded full provincial status. Moroccan assaults, which had occasioned a massive airlift of Spanish soldiery to defend the Saharan enclave in the previous year, clearly motivated the sudden juridical metamorphosis. Lately, to further discourage Moroccan irredentists, provincial military forces have been greatly expanded.

Ifni's prosperity derives mainly from its character as a "free port"; yearly imports total more than 80,000,000 pesetas (\$1,333,333). Too, the Spanish administration has recently sponsored agricultural experimentation, especially with olives, dates, cotton, and tobacco, and has undertaken several large-scale reclamation projects. Livestock, neverthe-

less, remains the primary source of wealth among rural Ifnians; the only agricultural commodity so far produced in quantity is barley.

The country's 4,618 Europeans, occupied almost wholly by commerce and government, are concentrated in Sidi Ifni, forming nearly half the city's population; 36,000 Berbers of the Ait-Baamaran confederacy, many of them still nomadic, inhabit the remainder of the province. Due to the ethnic unity and at least nominal Islamic faith of the Berber element, Hispanization has progressed slowly. In 1958, there were but three Catholic chapels in the entire region, contrasted to some 220 mosques; early 1961 figures reveal a total of only 441 native youths enrolled in Spanish schools.

IVORY COAST

Population: 3,103,000

Area: 125,000 square miles

Capital: Abidjan

Political Status: Independent republic; member of the Conseil de l'Entente

Principal Political Figure: President Felix Houphouet-Boigny

The Ivory Coast was the nursery of the nationalist movement for French West and Equatorial Africa and President Houphouet-Boigny's interterritorial *Rassemblement Democratique Africain* (founded in 1946) was the womb from which most of the area's parties have sprung. Between 1946 and 1950, the RDA had close ties with the French Communist Party, but in 1950 Houphouet adopted a new policy of cooperation with France and served in successive French Cabinets from 1956 to 1959.

Until 1959 Ivory Coast stood back from the race for independence, favoring instead the idea of an Afro-French community with federal links between self-governing African countries and France. Houphouet-Boigny was also opposed to close political links among the African countries, and at first opposed all efforts at political union in Africa. The *Conseil de l'Entente*, formed by Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, and Ivory Coast in May 1959 under the latter's aegis, reflected this policy. With France's decision to grant independence to Mali in June 1960, Houphouet concluded that the Community as originally conceived by de Gaulle was ended as an effective institution and promptly set all four *Entente* states on the road to independence outside the Community (effective August 1960). The *Entente* countries continue to trade chiefly with France and all are in the franc zone and the EEC. On the larger African scene, President Houphouet-Boigny has been the key figure in coordinating the

policies of the 12 more moderate French-speaking territories—the so-called Brazzaville grouping, officially called the *Union Africaine et Malgache*.

There is no organized internal opposition to Houphouet-Boigny's local RDA grouping, the *Parti Democratique Cote d'Ivoire*, which has effectively neutralized former opposition groups and molded one of the most heterogeneous populations in Africa (speaking 60 different tongues) into a cohesive polity. Houphouet enjoys broad executive powers under a new presidential constitution, and the PDCI's "single list" of candidates for the National Assembly was unopposed in November 1960 elections. Extra-parliamentary opposition to the regime clearly exists, nonetheless, especially among younger elements critical of the country's close ties with France.

The Ivory Coast's economic prosperity contributes significantly to the maintenance of the internal status quo and to the country's influential position in relation to its neighbors. Essentially an agricultural nation, it exports sufficient coffee, cocoa, wood, bananas, palm nuts, and diamonds to assure a consistently favorable trade balance. Coffee accounts for 60 percent of total exports. A considerable part of agricultural production is in the hands of African smallholders, but there are also numerous plantations—far more than in neighboring West African countries. Houphouet-Boigny is a firm apostle of capitalism, and is doing everything possible to attract overseas investment. Abidjan is now one of the busiest and most modern ports in Africa: it is a thriving business center, and there are growing numbers of industries.

KENYA

Population: 6,550,700 (including 67,700 Europeans, 174,300 Asians, and 38,600 Arabs)

Area: 224,960 square miles

Capital: Nairobi

Political Status: British colony and protectorate

Principal Political Figures:

Governor Sir Patrick Renison; Jomo Kenyatta; KADU's Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro; KANU's Tom Mboya and James Gichuru

Since late August 1961, the efforts of Kenya's Governor Sir Patrick Renison have been directed toward getting Kenya's two rival African political parties—the Kenya African National Union (KANU), led by James Gichuru, Tom Mboya, and Oginga Odinga, and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), led by Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro—to cease their bitter disagreements and form a national government that

could negotiate with the British Government on the next stage of Kenya's progress toward independence. Jomo Kenyatta also supported this objective for the first two months after his release from detention, but eventually agreed—on October 28—to throw his prestige behind KANU by becoming its president.

Although KANU won 19 Legislative Council seats against KADU's 11 and a popular vote nearly four times greater than that of KADU in the February 1961 elections held to implement political changes agreed to at a 1960 constitutional conference in London, KANU declined to form a government because of the British insistence that a workable government must be established before Kenyatta was released. KADU subsequently was persuaded to form a national government in late April with liberal European and government support.

KANU, which regards itself as the true expression of Kenya nationalism, is especially strong in urban areas and derives its leadership from the important Kikuyu, Luo, and Kamba tribes. KADU, on the other hand, is primarily an alliance of agrarian minority tribes drawn together mainly through fear of being absorbed by the larger KANU tribes. The parties have been increasingly at loggerheads since KADU came to power, and KANU is also plagued with internal cleavages based partly on tribal as well as personal differences among its leadership.

A recently-announced KADU proposal for dividing Kenya into five or six regions possessing considerable local autonomy over land, education, revenue, and administrative staff is bound to widen the breach between the governing party and KANU, which stands for "undiluted democracy"—i.e., a centralized unitary state. Kenyatta's ability to transcend these differences and establish a supra-tribal Kenya is yet to be tested.

Meanwhile, the future status of Kenya's large white settler population, as well as of its Asians and Arabs, remains uncertain. This problem is of great importance since the economy of the country has been developed primarily around large-scale agricultural and commercial enterprises owned by non-Africans. Another potentially serious hurdle on the way to political stability is the growing secessionist sentiment in the Somali-inhabited Northern Frontier District and in the 10 by 300 mile "Coastal Strip" protectorate which has been governed as an integral part of Kenya since 1895, but is legally part of the domain of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Kenya's Arabs, who are pressing the claim for Coastal autonomy, propose that the Strip and its important port city of Mombasa become the capital of the projected East African Federation.

LIBERIA

Population: 2,500,000

Area: 42,990 square miles

Capital: Monrovia

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figure: President William V.S. Tubman

The Republic of Liberia, one of Africa's two oldest independent states, originated in the efforts of several American philanthropic societies to establish a settlement for freed slaves on the West African coast in the early 1800's. The constitution of the republic, established in 1847, is based on that of the United States, though in practice President Tubman wields far greater personal power than does his United States counterpart. He was inaugurated for his fourth term in January 1960, winning all but 24 votes in the May 1959 general elections under the banner of the True Whig Party.

For the first century of its existence, Liberia suffered endless financial problems and made little progress toward political or cultural unification of the 28 inland tribes with the Americo-Liberian settlers along the coast. With the introduction of Firestone's first large rubber plantation in 1926, Liberia entered a period of dramatic economic change that is now beginning to affect every facet of Liberian life. Under President Tubman, every effort has been made to create a favorable climate for other foreign investors as well. Today, a network of 1200 miles of all-weather roads unites a country which had virtually none in 1950; revenues have jumped from less than \$1,000,000 just before World War II to \$32,000,000 in 1960, and the projections for 1970 run as high as \$100,000,000. Iron ore may soon overtake rubber as Liberia's primary product: the American-financed Liberian Mining Company has steadily produced nearly 3,000,000 tons of high grade ore a year over the past decade, another large Liberian-American mine is going into operation in 1961, the vast LAMCO operation on Mount Nimba will begin producing in 1964 (initially 4,000,000 tons per year, but at least 6,000,000 by 1965), and a German-financed project will go into production in 1964.

In his 1960 Inaugural Address, President Tubman indicated that increasing attention would be devoted in the coming decade to the task of bringing Liberia's educational facilities abreast of those of neighboring West African states. Social reforms are also planned to spread some of the benefits of prosperity from the coastal elite to the hinterland tribal peoples. On the success of these efforts to integrate the nation will

largely depend Liberia's future political stability.

President Tubman was both host and chairman for the conference of 20 moderately-inclined African states held in the Liberian capital of Monrovia in May 1961, and is a strong advocate of cooperative approaches by African countries to common economic, political, and educational problems. He regards talk of pan-African political unity as premature, however.

LIBYA

Population: 1,200,000

Area: 680,000 square miles

Capitals: Benghazi and Tripoli (permanent capital under construction at Barqu Jebel)

Political Status: Independent monarchy

Principal Political Figure: King Idris I

When Libya—a former Italian colony which came under UN jurisdiction after World War II—was established as an independent state in 1951, its economic and political future appeared bleak indeed. Ninety-nine percent of its land was non-arable, the population added up to barely two persons per square mile; and the principal source of national revenue was rent from large plots of desert used by United States and British military bases. Moreover, the three component provinces—Tripolitania, Fezzan, and Cyrenaica—had never known political unity before.

With the recent discovery of oil, the desert kingdom's economic outlook changes dramatically, a development which is bound to have political ramifications as well. Per capita income from oil revenues is estimated at \$125 for 1961, considerably higher than the equivalent figure for such older producers as Iran and Iraq, and within five years could rise to \$300 per Libyan.

In the decade since independence, aging King Idris has not yet succeeded in establishing symbols, institutions, and habits of national unity that are likely to survive his reign. Much of the new oil income still passes through only a few Libyan families and is largely converted into luxury items imported from abroad rather than social investment at home. However, elementary education now reaches five times more children than 10 years ago, and a new Libyan University is being steadily expanded with UN assistance. Thus, a Libyan citizen with new material and intellectual resources—and inevitably, new demands—is rapidly being developed.

MALAGASY

Population: 5,191,085

Area: 227,900 square miles

Capital: Tananarive

Political Status: Independent republic, member of the French Community

Principal Political Figure: President Philibert Tsiranana

Africa's largest island, the former French territory of Madagascar, became the independent Malagasy Republic on June 26, 1960. Although there are both African Negro and Indo-Melanesian ethnic strains in the unique Malagasy melting pot, the island has a high degree of linguistic and cultural homogeneity. All Malagasy speak a common indigenous language, which belongs to the Indonesian group, although regional dialectical variations are apparent. As early as 1835, nearly 10,000 Malagasy could read and write, and the island has an impressive literary tradition and record in the field of education.

Eighty percent of Malagasy's inhabitants are employed in agriculture, and agricultural products—chiefly coffee, vanilla, and rice—account for 90 percent of total exports.

More than 60 years of close economic, cultural, and political association with France have left their indelible mark, and President Tsiranana's government remains actively affiliated with the French Community and plays a key role in the "Brazzaville" grouping of French-speaking African states, now called the *Union Africaine et Malgache*.

The moderate *Parti Sociale Democratique* was returned to power by a sweeping majority in general elections held in September 1960, taking 82 out of 107 National Assembly seats. Only three seats went to the Communist-front *Ankoto Kongresny Fahalevatanana Malagasy* (AKFM), generally regarded as the strongest group standing in opposition to Tsiranana's moderate policies.

MALI

Population: 4,900,000

Area: 465,000 square miles

Capital: Bamako

Political Status: Independent republic; loosely joined with Ghana and Guinea in the "Union of African States"

Principal Political Figures:

President Modibo Keita;

Minister of State Jean-

Marie Kone; Minister of

Interior Madeira Keita

The quarrel which precipitated Senegal's withdrawal from the Mali Federation less than two months after the two countries became joint-

ly independent in June 1960 was partly a personality clash but also reflected the differing ideological perspectives of the governing groups in the two territories. While coastal Senegal and landlocked, agricultural Mali (formerly French Soudan) are complementary economic partners and leaders of both countries describe themselves as "African socialists," Mali's leadership favors a highly-organized unitary state on the Guinea pattern, whereas Senegal's ruling party is drawn to more moderate Scandinavian models.

Since the break with Senegal, President Keita's *Union Soudanaise* (which obtained all seats in the Legislative Assembly in the March 1959 elections and has subsequently consolidated its position as the single national party) has been perfecting its organization throughout the country and using mass party techniques to rally the population behind the effort to develop the economy. Priority goals, besides expanding education, are expansion and improvement of internal transport, improvement of irrigation facilities, extension of rural cooperatives, industrialization, and development of the country's hydroelectric potential.

Since the political break with Senegal, Mali has refused to send its exports—chiefly peanuts and cotton, though bauxite is potentially significant—out to world markets by the Dakar-Niger railroad. These products now move instead, at greater cost and inconvenience, by truck to Bobo Dioulasso in Upper Volta and then by rail to Abidjan, Ivory Coast. A third alternative—by Guinea—is too slow and difficult for more than occasional use. Despite the dislocations involved, there is apparently no intention of reopening the railway to Dakar, and the breach between Senegal and Mali remains deep. Mali Ministers still sit at the same conference table with Senegalese representatives in franc zone and other technical meetings, however.

Mali left the French Community in 1960, was one of the five signatories of the Casablanca charter of January 1961, and has a more radical voting record in the UN than any of the other Casablanca powers. On the other hand, the government is considering the possibility of negotiating for continued affiliation with the European Common Market and has indicated no intention of leaving the franc zone—this despite the fact that the country is now politically joined to Ghana, which militantly opposes the Common Market concept, and to Guinea, which has withdrawn from the franc zone and the Common Market.

MAURITANIA

Population: 725,000

Area: 419,000 square miles

Capital: Nouakchott

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figure: President Mokhtar Ould Daddah

Most of the Arabic-speaking Islamic Republic of Mauritania is barren flatland inhabited by nomadic tribesmen who move with the seasons in search of grass and water for their flocks. Eighty percent of the population are a mixture of Arab and Berber stock, while the rest are Negro. Settled agriculture is confined to scattered oases and to the northern banks of the Senegal River, where millet, dates, fruits, and vegetables are grown and small amounts of salt, gum arabic, and fish are produced. Of the 20,000 estimated wage earners in the country at the time of independence from France (November 28, 1960), all but 2,000 were civil servants or military personnel.

The future holds many changes for Mauritania, however, as the result of the discovery of some 145,000,000 tons of high grade iron near Fort Gouraud. MIFERMA, a French, British, German, and Italian consortium, has undertaken to develop and market this ore, aided by a \$66,000,000 World Bank loan. Including such related projects as an electric power plant, a 400-mile-long railroad, and port facilities at Port Etienne, the total investment is estimated at \$190,000,000. Copper reserves estimated at 500,000 tons will probably be developed by French interests, and prospecting for oil continues.

Adoption of a presidential system of government in May 1961, followed by general elections in August, consolidated the leadership position of President Mokhtar Ould Daddah, a Sorbonne-educated lawyer deriving from one of Mauritania's most respected Marabout families. His own *Parti du Regroupement Mauritanienne* and the former opposition *Nahdat al-Watain* merged in June to form a single *Union National Mauritanienne*.

Neighboring Morocco's efforts to win support for its contention that Mauritania is historically and ethnically an integral part of Morocco have not made much progress, due chiefly to Daddah's personal popularity, French support of Mauritanian separatism, and the effective neutralization of the once pro-Moroccan *an-Nahda* Party. Morocco's claims have the support of all the Arab countries except Tunisia. The USSR, for tactical reasons which had little to do with Mauritania *per se*, at first blocked the country's admission to the UN, but relented in October 1961, when Mauritania's application for membership was at last allowed to

UNIVERSITIES IN AFRICA



STATE	UNIVERSITIES	YEAR FOUNDED	NO. STUDENTS (1960 figures)
ALGERIA	University of Algiers	1879	6,027
BASUTOLAND	University College of Pius XII	1945	170
CONGO (Leopoldville)	Levanium University	1954	485
	State University, Elizabethville	1956	141
EGYPT	University of al-Azhar	970	3,798
	Cairo University	1908	27,000
	American University of Cairo	1919	732
	Alexandria University	1942	11,000
	Ain Shams University	1950	22,912
	University of Assiut	1957	n.a.
ETHIOPIA	University College of Arts and Sciences (Addis Ababa)	1950	426
GHANA	University of Ghana (formerly University College of Ghana est. 1948)	1961	671 ('61)
	Kumasi College of Technology	1951	800 ('61)
	University College of Cape Coast	1961	n.a.
KENYA	Royal Technical College	1955	250
LIBERIA	University of Liberia	1951	750
LIBYA	University of Libya	1956	728 ('61)
MALAGASY	Institute of Higher Studies (to be absorbed by the projected Charles de Gaulle University)	1955	862 ('59)
MOROCCO	University of Rabat	1957	3,686
	Qaraouine University	859	2,086
NIGERIA	University College, Ibadan	1948	1,136 ('61)
	University of Nigeria, Nsukka	1960	300 ('61)
	Nigerian College of Arts, Science, and Technology	1948	1,200
SENEGAL	University of Dakar	1957	1,398 ('61)
SIERRA LEONE	University College of Sierra Leone (formerly Fourah Bay College, est. 1827.)	1960	302
SOUTH AFRICA	University of Cape Town ¹	1918	4,671 European 663 non-European ²
	University of Natal ¹ (Durban and Pietermaritzburg)	1909	3,859
	Non-European Medical School of Durban (founded as branch of Univ. of Natal.)	1951	201
	University of Orange Free State ¹	1855 (univ. status, 1950)	2,031
	Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education ¹	1869 (univ. status, 1951)	1,781
	University of Pretoria ¹	1908 (univ. status, 1930)	7,933
	University of Stellenbosch ¹	1916	4,520
	Rhodes University ¹	1904 (univ. status, 1951)	1,453
	University of Witwatersrand ¹	1896 (univ. status, 1922)	5,180 European 269 non-European ²
	University of South Africa (correspondence courses serving all races)	1873	7,863 European 2,064 non-European
	University College of Fort Hare (restricted to non-Europeans)	1923	360
	University College of Zululand (restricted to non-Europeans)	1959	41
	University College of the North (restricted to non-Europeans)	1959	80
	Western Cape University College for Coloureds (restricted to Coloureds and Malays)	1959	157
	Teachers Training College (Durban) (restricted to Indians)	1951	n.a.
SOUTHERN RHODESIA	University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	1955	232
SUDAN	University of Khartoum (formerly Gordon Memorial College, est. 1902)	1956	1,000
TANGANYIKA	University College of Tanganyika	1961	n.a.
TUNISIA	University of Tunisia (incorporating the Institute of Higher Studies, est. 1945)	1960	2,495 ('61)
	Zitouna University	n.a.	881
UGANDA	University College of East Africa (Makerere) (originally a secondary school, est. 1921)	1950	912 ('61)

1. Restricted to Europeans by law since 1959.

2. Non-European students enrolled in courses prior to 1959 and allowed to complete studies.

pass the Security Council. Mauritania's candidacy has been strongly upheld by the Brazzaville group of African countries; indeed the drive to gain Mauritania's admission has been one of the reasons for the group's formation.

MAURITIUS

Population: 650,000

Area: 1,000 square miles

Capital: Port Louis

Political Status: British colony

Mauritius, an island of volcanic origin, lies in the Indian Ocean east of Malagasy. Cane sugar and by-products account for 98 percent of exports. Four bilingual French-English daily newspapers and three Chinese dailies reflect the cosmopolitan character of the population.

MOROCCO

Population: 11,600,000

Area: 170,000 square miles

Capital: Rabat

Political Status: Independent monarchy

Principal Political Figures: King Hassan II; Allal al-Fassi and Ahmad Balafraj, leaders of the Istiqlal Party; Mehdi Ben Barka, Majub Ben Siddiq, Abdallah Ibrahim, Abdu Nahim Bouabid, all prominent in the radical National Union of Popular Forces

In the postwar struggle for independence, the Istiqlal (Independence) Party, led by Allal al-Fassi, was the main political force in Morocco and controlled the consultative assembly. In January 1959, however, the party split into two factions: a conservative grouping (still calling itself the Istiqlal) led by al-Fassi and Ahmad Balafraj, and the radical National Union of Popular Forces, led by Mehdi Ben Barka. This development encouraged the popular King Mohammed V to consolidate all political power in his own hands.

After Mohammed's unexpectedly early death in February 1961, many Moroccans doubted that his 33-year old son and successor, King Hassan II, would possess his father's political skill. There was considerable speculation that he might seek the help of the army to try to destroy the National Union of Popular Forces and the large trade union movement allied with it. Instead, the new king designated himself Prime Minister and moved quickly to steal the radicals' thunder by adopting many of their slogans and translating some of these into action. He has, for example,

cemented the ties which his father made with the more radical African states (the so-called Casablanca Powers: Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali), has turned zealously toward economic planning, and recently began a national mobilization of unemployed and underemployed men into a labor corps for the construction of public works.

Morocco's unsolved problems are still many. During the protectorate, the country was administered as three separate regions—a French Zone, a Spanish Zone, and internationally-controlled Tangier. This has produced a population with so many loyalties, languages, and differences of experience, outlook, and preparation for nationhood that it will require many years to become a cohesive polity. In many parts of the country, especially in the Rif and Atlas mountains and in the Sahara, tribal loyalties still remain supreme.

Though Morocco possesses a more generous variety of natural resources than Algeria and Tunisia, droughts can frequently, as in 1961, undermine the entire economy. More than four-fifths of Moroccans are employed in agriculture, but they can supply only two fifths of the value of the gross national product. After agriculture, mining is Morocco's most important industry: some 5,600,000 tons of phosphates are produced annually, as well as some coal, manganese, iron, lead, zinc, and oil.

Morocco considers that Mauritania, Ifni, the Spanish Sahara, parts of Algeria, and even segments of territories farther south were intrinsic parts of pre-colonial Morocco and should be united under the Moroccan flag.

MOZAMBIQUE

Population: 6,310,000 (including 65,798 Europeans)

Area: 297,731 square miles

Capital: Lourenco Marques

Political Status: Portuguese Overseas Province

Mozambique was visited by Vasco da Gama on his voyage to India in 1498, and the Portuguese founded settlements there early in the sixteenth century. Like Angola, it is an integral province of Portugal administered by a Governor-General and is represented in the Portuguese National Assembly by three white deputies; in addition, there is a 24-seat provincial Legislative Council. Although two nationalist parties—the Mozambique African National Union (MANU) and the *Uniao Democratica Nacional de Mocambique* (UDENAMO)—are in close touch with parallel movements in other Portuguese colonies, there has been no overt protest comparable to that in Angola.

Mozambique is a primarily agricultural country, exporting chiefly cotton, sugar, copra, sisal, cashew nuts, tea, vegetable oils and cereals. Although an estimated one third of the total land area is suitable for cultivation, only about one percent is now farmed. Some 300,000 Africans from Mozambique work in the mines of South Africa. A six-year development program initiated in 1959 calls for expenditures of about \$125,000,000, over half of which will go for colonization projects for settling white Portuguese and for road and railroad expansion. (See also Angola for details of recently announced political reforms.)

NIGER

Population: 2,500,000

Area: 459,000 square miles

Capital: Niamey

Political Status: Independent republic; member of the Conseil de l'Entente

Principal Political Figure: President Hamani Diori

Although Niger is larger than all three of its partners in the *Conseil de l'Entente* combined, it is handicapped by an inland geographical location, forbidding climate, and lack of economic resources. Settled farmers in the southern savannah zone between Niamey and Lake Chad raise peanuts for export as well as millet, sorghum, manioc, corn, beans, and fruit for domestic consumption, but the rest of the country is barren desert from which nomads eke out a precarious existence. The country's rate of school enrollment is the lowest in French-speaking Africa.

President Hamani Diori, a French-educated schoolmaster before he entered politics in 1946, came to power in 1958. His *Union pour la Communauté Franco-Africaine*, campaigning in favor of a "yes" vote on the 1958 constitutional referendum, won 54 seats against six for the radical predecessor regime, which had advocated that Niger join Guinea in voting "non." Since then, President Diori has consolidated his party's position by allying himself with Niger's powerful Moslem traditional chiefs, exiling former Prime Minister Djibo Bakary and banning his radical Sawaba Party, associating Niger with the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and Upper Volta in the *Conseil de l'Entente*, and introducing a presidential constitution patterned on that of the Ivory Coast.

Niger is an active participant in the conservative grouping of French-speaking African states, the Brazzaville Twelve. Although independent since August 1960 and no longer a member of the Community, Niger is heavily dependent upon France for technical and financial assistance.

NIGERIA

Population: 35,300,000

Area: 356,669 square miles

Capital: Lagos

Political Status: Independent
dominion in the British
Commonwealth

Principal Political Figures: Governor General Nnamdi Azikiwe; Federal Prime Minister Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa; Foreign Minister Jaja Wachuku; Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Federal leader of the opposition Action Group; Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Prime Minister of the Northern Region; Dr. M. I. Okapara, Prime Minister of the Eastern Region; Chief S. I. Akintola, Prime Minister of the Western Region.

On October 1, 1960 the Federation of Nigeria became Africa's twenty-sixth independent state—and by far its most populous. On October 1, 1961, as the result of a UN-supervised plebiscite held several months earlier, the British-administered UN Trust Territory of Northern Cameroons also voluntarily joined Nigeria as part of the Northern Region, adding another million people to the population. Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa heads a coalition government formed in 1959 by the Northern People's Congress (which has 142 seats in the 312-seat House of Representatives) and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, with 89 seats. The opposition Action Group controls 73 seats.

In the year since independence, Nigerians have made striking progress toward solving the nation's most serious internal problem of the past decade—the regional and tribal antagonisms which once made it seem unlikely that a single Nigeria could ever be created. Political differences are increasingly ideological in nature, and a growing percentage of the population are thinking of themselves as Nigerians rather than Ibos or Yorubas or Hausas. Internal criticism of the regime focuses primarily on its conservative economic policies and on Nigeria's moderate stance in international affairs, which many of Nigeria's intellectuals and more militant nationalists find pro-Western. An "All Nigeria Peoples' Conference" on African affairs, called by the Nigerian Government in August to allow all shades of Nigerian opinion to air their views on the role Nigeria should assume in Africa, urged (1) a Nigerian initiative to "bring together" the Monrovia and Casablanca Powers; (2) the abrogation of the 1960 Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact; (3) acceptance of the principal of the political union of

African states, and (4) steps toward a unified African common defense.

Given Nigeria's resources (iron, tin, columbite ores, coal, limestone, petroleum, and a diversified agricultural economy), the attractive terms offered for capital investment, and the probability of substantial United States as well as British assistance for the new Five Year Plan which begins next April, the country's economic future also looks promising. The gross national product of around three billion dollars is up 50 percent in less than a decade, and the country has a consistently favorable trade balance despite heavy imports of capital equipment. Education has high priority in all government planning and at least one new university is planned to augment the two already functioning.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

Population: 565,000

Area: 13,944 square miles

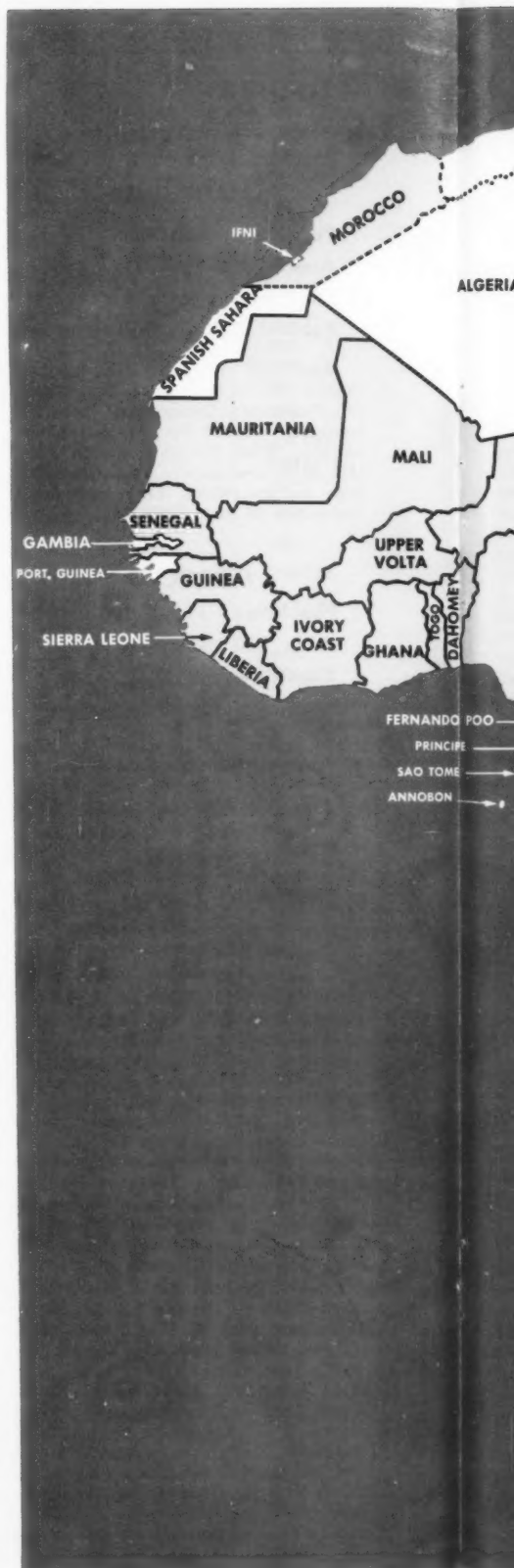
Capital: Bissau

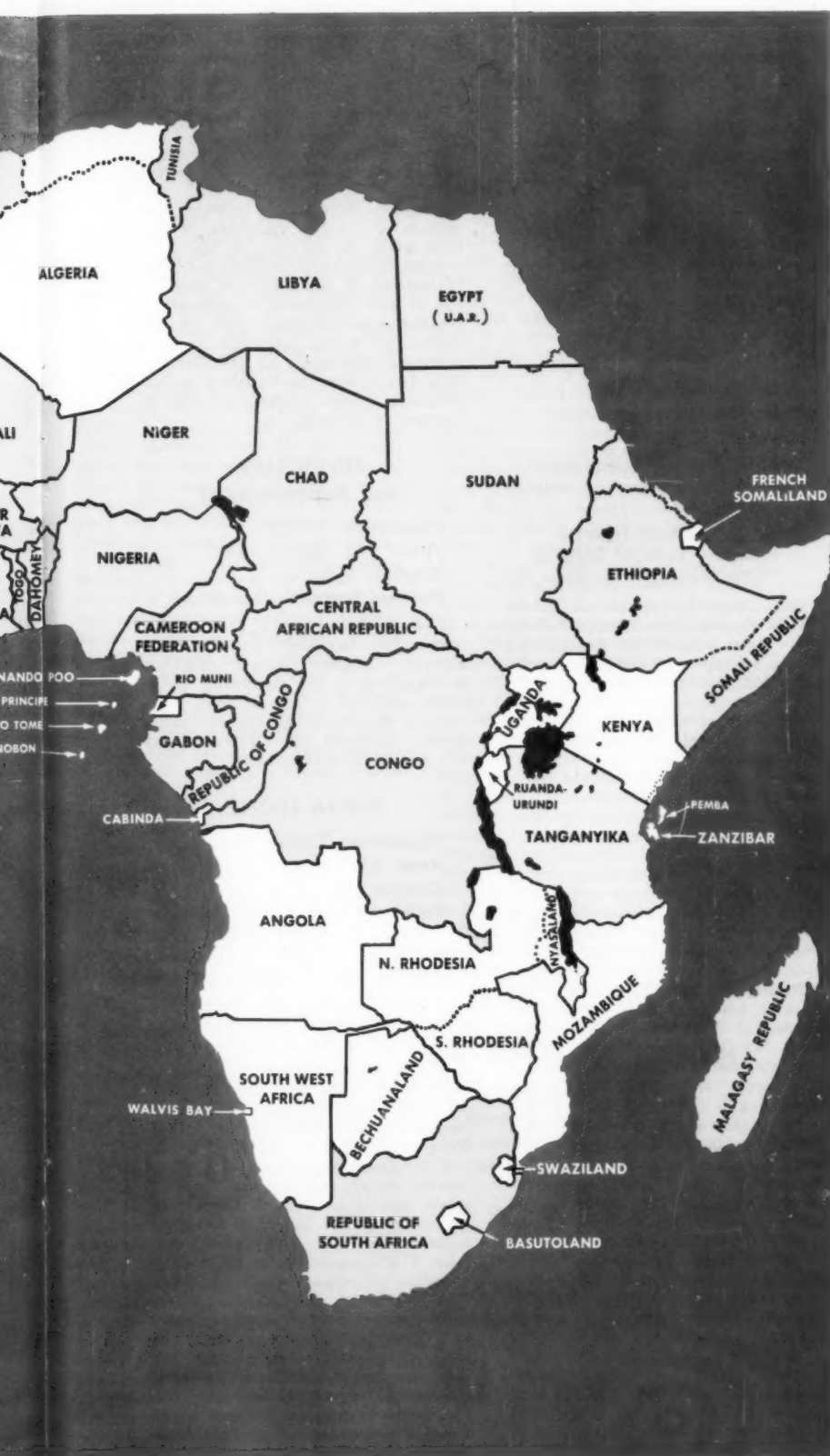
Political Status: Portuguese
Overseas Province

Besides its mainland territory, located between Guinea and Senegal on the west coast of Africa, Portuguese Guinea also includes a group of small nearby islands, the Bijagos Archipelago. The area was first visited by Portuguese ships in 1446 and Portuguese missionaries settled there soon thereafter. As in Angola and Mozambique, government administration is in the hands of a resident Governor-General.

Despite Portuguese efforts to shield Guinea from the African nationalism which has swept all neighboring countries to independence since World War II, the territory has inevitably been affected by the basic political changes outside its borders. A "congress of the revolutionary groups of Guinea and the nearby Cape Verde Islands" was held in Dakar, Senegal in July 1961 to establish a common front on the pattern of the inter-party group which leads the rebel offensive in Angola. Ibrahim Diallo, Senegalese-born secretary general of Guinea's largest nationalist party (the Movement for the Liberation of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) has said that "armed action will definitely begin before the end of the year."

As in all the Portuguese territories, illiteracy is high and there has been no intent to prepare the populace or the economy for eventual independence. However, Portuguese authorities have expressed concern that press reports of conditions in Guinea distort the situation. Official sources point out that 90 percent of Guinea's agricultural holdings are in African hands, and cite also the absence of forced labor, the multi-racial





nature of the administration, the territory's expanding agricultural and health facilities, and the fact that Guinea's campaign against leprosy was recently cited by the World Health Organization as the best-organized and most effective in Africa.

Principal crops are peanuts (about 46,000 tons annually) and coconuts (14,000 tons). Other leading products are rice, palm oil, timber, and hides. (See also Angola for details of recently-announced political reforms.)

REUNION ISLANDS

Population: 321,000

Area: 1,000 square miles

Capital: Saint Denis

Political Status: Overseas department of France

Reunion is about 420 miles east of Malagasy in the Indian Ocean, and has belonged to France since 1643. There is telephone and telegraph communication with Mauritius, the Republic of Malagasy, and (via the latter) metropolitan France. Air France maintains a twice-weekly service. Ships pick up export cargoes of sugar, rum, manioc, and vanilla essences.

RUANDA-URUNDI

Population: 4,500,000

Area: 21,000 square miles

Capital: Usumbura

Political Status: Twin kingdoms administered by Belgium as a UN Trust Territory

Principal Political Figures:

Ruanda: President Gregoire Kayibanda, founder of the Parmehutu Party; Mwami Kigeri IV, deposed king of Ruanda

Urundi: Mwami Mwambutsa, king of Urundi; Prime Minister Andre Muhirwa

Ruanda-Urundi, a tiny mountainous UN Trust Territory next door to the Congo, has been under Belgian control since 1916. Although successive occupying powers and the UN have dealt with Ruanda-Urundi as a single unit, it is in fact two separate entities which may go their separate ways after independence, now tentatively set by the UN for 1962. In Ruanda, there is talk of an eventual federation with neighboring Uganda, and Urundi might elect to join with Tanganyika. Both territories are overpopulated (214 persons per square mile), and also suffer from an oversupply of cattle, which are prized as socio-religious items rather than for their economic value. Unpredictable rainfall and meager natural resources render Ruanda's and Urundi's economic prospects unpromising. Coffee is the main crop, though tobacco

and pyrethium are also being developed.

With the gradual withdrawal in the 1950's of Belgian support from the traditional Batutsi ruling group, the Bahutu people—who comprise some 84 percent of the population of Ruanda-Urundi—have become for the first time a significant political factor. The violence of recent political strife derives from the fact that the Bahutu were ruthlessly suppressed by the Batutsi minority for five centuries. The pygmy Batwa, a third caste grouping in turn suppressed by the Bahutu, are now reduced to one percent of the population.

In the UN-supervised elections held in September 1961, the voters of Ruanda officially abolished the Batutsi monarchy of Mwami Kigeri IV, already overthrown by *coup d'etat* in January 1961, and gave 35 out of 44 seats in the Ruanda Legislative Assembly to the Bahutu-led Parmehutu Party. Gregoire Kayibanda, founder of the Parmehutu Party, was subsequently (October 26) elected President of Ruanda by the Assembly. Meanwhile, voters in neighboring Urundi gave 58 out of 64 Legislative Assembly seats to the Batutsi-led UPRONA party, which advocates early independence and the continuance of the institution of the monarchy; a Common Front of 12 Bahutu parties took only six seats. Prime Minister Andre Muhirwa is a Batutsi.

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SAO TOME and PRINCIPE

Population: 60,159, including 1,152 Europeans

Capital: Sao Tome

Area: 372 square miles

Political Status: Portuguese Overseas Province

The islands of Sao Tome and Principe, about 125 miles off the coast of Africa in the Gulf of Guinea, were discovered by Portuguese explorers in 1471 and have been governed as a Portuguese province since 1522.

SENEGAL

Population: 2,550,000

Area: 76,084 square miles

Capital: Dakar

Political Status: Independent republic; member of French Community

Principal Political Figures:

President Leopold Senghor;
Prime Minister Mamadou Dia

Dakar was the capital and hub of the old French West African Federation. Thus, independent Senegal fell heir to a number of institutions originally designed by France to serve the entire area—a magnificent port, a fully-operating university, an international airport, a good internal transportation system linked to neighboring countries, a developed radio network, and the most elaborate economic planning machinery in West Africa. Although the economy is still primarily agricultural—with peanuts, sold principally to subsidized French markets, the major cash crop—there is also some commercial fishing, a developing phosphate industry, and some promise of oil. Senegal's industries are now suffering from market shifts imposed by political changes in the area and from the growing competition of rival industries in Ivory Coast, but Dakar remains the largest industrial center in West Africa.

In terms of political experience, Senegal came to independence better-prepared than many of its neighbors; part of the country first began choosing deputies to the French parliament in 1871 and the layer of university-educated personnel available for public service is relatively large. President Leopold Senghor is a distinguished poet and scholar who served 14 years in the French Parliament (1945-59) and Prime Minister Mamadou Dia is a trained economist and author of a book on the problems of underdeveloped countries. Their political party, *Union Progressiste Senegalaise*, won all seats in the Legislative Assembly in a hard-fought election against a traditionalist coalition in March 1959. Today, however, the most potent opposition to the regime comes from younger and

more radical Senegalese, who oppose the continuing economic and political ties with France and the large number of French officials still in the administration, and identify with the radical African nationalism of neighboring Mali and Guinea.

The short-lived union of Senegal and Mali (January 1959-August 1960) foundered on personal and ideological differences between the leaders of the two countries. For a time after the collapse of the Federation, Senegal found itself politically isolated in intra-African politics, but is now beginning to reassert a position commensurate with its potentialities as an associate in such moderate groupings as the Brazzaville Twelve and the Monrovia states. About 75 percent of the population of Senegal is Moslem.

SEYCHELLES (and dependencies)

Population: 42,000

Area: 156 square miles

Capital: Victoria

Political Status: British colony

The Seychelles are a port of call between Bombay, India and Mombasa, Kenya. Nearest island neighbor is Malagasy to the southwest. Originally colonized to provide spice plantations, the Seychelles export vanilla beans, patchouli oil, cinnamon leaf oil, and bark of cinnamon.

SIERRA LEONE

Population: 2,500,000

Area: 27,924 square miles

Capital: Freetown

Political Status: Independent dominion in the British Commonwealth

Principal Political Figures: Prime Minister Sir Milton Margai;
Foreign Minister John Karefa-Smart; Albert Margai

Sierra Leone, which became an independent state on April 27, 1961, was governed by Britain for nearly two centuries. In 1787, British philanthropists founded at Freetown a colony for freed American slaves. This coastal sector was enlarged in 1895 when, largely to forestall French encroachment from the east, a British protectorate was established over some 27,000 square miles of the surrounding hinterland. Until the 1950's, descendants of the original slaves settled in the Freetown area—known as Creoles—dominated the country's political and social life, but pre-independence constitutional reforms broadened the political base. Sir Milton Margai's governing Sierra Leone People's Party was the first mass political organization to bridge the gap between the tribal peoples of the protectorate and the Creoles of

the colony. Sir Milton carried national unity even further by creating a government of national union with the opposition People's National Party (headed by his brother, Albert Margai) in May 1960 and effecting the official merger of the two parties just before independence. This leaves only the small All People's Congress outside the governing group.

Geographically, Sierra Leone is located between two states representing opposite ends of the African political spectrum—Liberia and Guinea. The Margai government has so far steered clear of African ideological groupings, though its policies on external issues are generally comparable to those of moderate Nigeria. More than 50 percent of Sierra Leone's trade is with Britain, with diamonds, iron ore, palm kernels, coffee, and cocoa the principal exports. Although considerable prosperity has resulted from the diamond boom, developmental capital will be required if national wealth is to keep pace with the rising expectations of a growing population. Education has a high priority in development plans, because of the need to speed correction of the imbalance between colony and hinterland facilities. Whereas an estimated 80 percent of the coastal peoples can read and write, literacy in the protectorate dips to five percent. Sierra Leone's Fourah Bay University—the oldest institution of higher education in West Africa—was founded in 1824, though it did not reach University status until 1960.

SOMALIA

Population: 1,950,000

Former Italian-administered

Somalia: 1,300,000

Former British

Somaliland: 650,000

Area: 246,000 square miles

Capital: Mogadiscio

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figures: President Aden Abdullah Osman; Prime Minister Abdi Rashid Shermarke

Although the Republic of Somalia enjoys a degree of ethnic, religious, and linguistic homogeneity rare in African states, the new republic (established as an independent state July 1, 1960) faces many problems in integrating two sectors with such differing colonial histories into a cohesive political entity. A single National Assembly has been established in Mogadiscio and both territories set aside their own favorite sons to name a compromise candidate as Prime Minister, but the task of sorting out their currencies, their conflicting systems of law, their civil services, and their Italian and British

educational systems will take time. Moreover, the formula of tribal balance on which the governmental stability of Somalia has rested requires adjustments as the canvas broadens.

Although the United Nations, Italy, US, Britain, and Egypt expended considerable sums on technical assistance projects aimed at improving the economic base in the decade of preparation for independence, the republic will remain dependent on outside aid for some time to come. Both segments of Somalia suffer from a shortage of water, and their largely pastoral economies are not yet sufficiently productive to offer early hope of closing the gap between exports and imports. The main exports are bananas and livestock products.

In May 1961, Somalia accepted a \$52,000,000 loan and a range of technical assistance from the Soviet Union, and shifted its foreign policy from a "neutrality inclined toward the West" to "positive neutrality." Several local factors were behind this shift—not the least being the growing tension with neighboring Ethiopia over a long-smouldering border dispute and the related resentment of American military assistance to the Ethiopian Government. The new policy seems based on the assumption that Somalia's survival is best insured by keeping external pressures in balance. The Somalis, who are believed to have come originally from Asia, have persistently absorbed the resident Galla and Bantu of the Horn of Africa into their own original culture. Somalis are Moslem and proudly conscious of their unique heritage. A long-term project—but one which picked up a great deal of momentum in 1961—is the consolidation of a "Greater Somalia" incorporating another 1,300,000 Somalis who inhabit part of French Somaliland, the Ogaden Province of Ethiopia, and the Somali-inhabited portion of Kenya's Northern Province.

SOMALILAND, FRENCH

Population: 68,000

Area: 8,494 square miles

Capital: Djibouti

Political Status: French Overseas Territory

In the 1958 constitutional referendum, French Somaliland's voters opted to join the French Community as an Overseas Territory, and there has been no serious bid thus far for independence. The neighboring Somali Republic is politically committed to the eventual union of all Somali peoples, but the pan-Somali movement is strongly opposed by France. In any case, French Somaliland is not as homogeneous as the other Somali-inhabited states: only 30,000 of the territory's 68,000 inhabitants are Somalis, with the rest

broken down into some 28,000 Dan-kali, 6,000 Arabs, and 3,000 French.

An arid land, Somaliland has few resources beyond the strategically-important French naval base of Djibouti and the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railroad. While France clearly hopes to retain Djibouti under its direct administration as long as possible, subtle changes in French policy since 1957 reflect a realization that the gap between Somaliland and the peoples of neighboring states must be narrowed. Political reforms introduced in recent years have resulted in increased powers over internal affairs for the Territorial Assembly and Council and the first serious effort at partial Africanization of the administration. Meanwhile, educational opportunities are being expanded and an increasing number of Somaliland students are being sent to French universities in the hope of strengthening cultural bonds for the longer term.

SOUTH AFRICA

Population: 14,673,000 (including 9,751,000 Africans, 1,800,000 Dutch-descended Afrikaners, 1,200,000 Europeans of English descent, 1,406,000 Coloreds or mixed, and 450,000 Asiatics)

Area: 472,685 square miles

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figures:

Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd, leader of the Nationalist Party; Albert J. Luthuli, president of the banned African National Congress, former chief of the Zulu peoples, and winner of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize; Robert M. Sobukwe, imprisoned (since March 1960) leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress; Sir de Villiers Graaf, leader of the official parliamentary opposition, the United Party; Dr. Jan Steytler, leader of the moderately-liberal white Progressive Party.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, the white settlers of South Africa—who began serious colonization of the area as early as 1652—have sought political solutions based on separation of the races. The current, radical theory of apartheid was introduced as official government policy in 1948, when Dr. Daniel F. Malan, leading an all-Afrikaner National Party, ousted Prime Minister Jan Smuts' United Party government (predominantly English though led

by Afrikaners). Since their accession to power, the Nationalists have enacted increasingly more stringent legislation aimed at enforced retribalization of the African, even in universities and urban areas. Although the literacy rate is comparatively high among South Africa's Africans (35 percent in 1958) and the number of African university graduates runs in the thousands, social and political communication with whites is rigidly proscribed. Even within the white community, memories of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 still impose cultural and political barriers between Afrikaans- and English-speaking groups.

The most important African protest against apartheid came in March 1960, when the Pan-Africanist Congress' nationwide passive resistance campaign against the galling requirement that each African constantly carry documentation supplying detailed personal history provoked police action resulting in at least 72 African deaths, the imposition of a prolonged state of emergency, and the imprisonment of some 2,000 Africans suspected of political affiliations. These events drew worldwide criticism of South Africa's racial policies, resulting eventually in the government's decision to withdraw from the Commonwealth in May 1961 after a national referendum had approved the transformation of South Africa from a dominion to a republic.

South Africa's growing political isolation has appeared to intensify rather than moderate the ideology of the governing party, and elections held in October 1961 (for white and some colored voters only, since Africans do not vote) gave the Nationalists a larger parliamentary majority than ever—105 out of 156 seats. While Afrikaner critics of apartheid have grown in number in recent years, their political weight remains minimal. The moderately liberal Progressive Party made a sizeable showing in many constituencies but won only one seat. The predominantly English-speaking United Party took 49 seats.

The rivalry between the two major extra-parliamentary African political movements—the African National Congress and the newer Pan-Africanist Congress—limits the effectiveness of any given African protest movement. Both groups were badly crippled by the mass arrests of March 1960; the PAC's Robert Sobukwe remains imprisoned and the ANC's Albert Luthuli has been exiled by the government to a remote farm in Natal. Events elsewhere on the continent are, however, giving South Africa's non-whites new certainty that time is on their side.

For the Afrikaner, whose fundamentalist philosophy would seem to rule out compromise with the "wind

of change," there is no place to go except straight ahead. Thus, peaceful solution to the racial crisis in South Africa appears increasingly remote.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Population: 575,000 (including 70,000 whites)

Area: 318,000 square miles

Capital: Windhoek

Political Status: Administered by South Africa under a League of Nations Mandate, which the administering power has thus far refused to convert to UN Trusteeship

Principal Political Figures: Chief Hosea Kutako, leader of the Herero people and prime-mover in the African nationalist movement; Sam Nujoma, leader-in-exile of the South West Africa People's Organization; Jariretundu Kozonguizi, leader-in-exile of the South West Africa National Union.

South Africa governs the adjoining former German territory of South West Africa under a League of Nations Mandate which called upon the administering power to treat it "as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa," promoting "to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants." With an advisory opinion of the World Court as support, the United Nations contends that it has inherited the supervisory function of the League's Permanent Mandates Commission, and has repeatedly asked South Africa to place the territory under trusteeship. On October 26, the UN General Assembly's special investigating committee on South West Africa (comprising representatives of the Philippines, Denmark, Brazil, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Ireland, and the UAR) charged "the unfitness of the Government of South Africa to further administer the territory" and urged "the immediate institution of a United Nations presence in South-West Africa."

A formal case filed in the World Court in 1960 by Liberia and Ethiopia asks for a binding judgement on whether South Africa has violated the mandate.

Statistics on the territory are difficult to obtain because its economic output is lumped with that of South Africa. It is known to be one of the world's prime sources of karakul, but diamonds and other minerals and semi-precious stones are the most important resources in terms of value. The balance of trade appears to be favorable, exports more than paying

for imports of manufactures, food-stuff, jewels, and wood. However, South-West's importance to the Verwoerd government is not primarily economic, but rather as a political buffer zone. To allow the United Nations to set up an independent African state at the very door of South Africa would profoundly limit South Africa's ability to contain pressures within the republic itself.

Two major nationalist movements—the South West Africa National Union (SWANU), with a claimed membership of some 8,000, and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), with a claimed following of 50,000—have long had articulate petitioners at the United Nations. The South West Party—headed by Japie Basson, an Afrikaner MP expelled from the Nationalist Party in 1959—opposes UN trusteeship but endorses self-government for the territory in federal association with South Africa. The ruling National Party of South West Africa and the United National South West Party reflect the policies of their parent organizations in South Africa proper.

SPANISH GUINEA

Population: 216,677, including 4,500 Europeans and Levantines, as well as 25,000 Nigerian contract workers.

Area: 10,852 square miles

Capital: Santa Isabel de Fernando Poo

Political Status: Two Spanish provinces (Rio Muni and Fernando Poo) jointly administered by a Governor-General

Principal Political Figure: Admiral Faustino Ruiz Gonzalez, Governor-General

In 1959, the colony was transformed into two provinces, each with a Civil Governor and Provincial Deputation. At the same time, Spanish citizenship was granted to all Guinea residents, thereby abolishing the prior system of "emancipation" through which only a handful of Africans had officially become "Spaniards." Municipal elections—the first electoral contests of any kind in the territory's history—were conducted in late 1960; shortly afterwards, six Guinea delegates, three of them African, entered the Spanish Cortes.

These events, however, do not constitute genuine liberalization of the territory's status, for the two provinces have been re-combined into a super-provincial entity called the Spanish Equatorial Region which is geographically identical to the former colony. It is administered by a

Madrid-appointed Governor-General who possesses virtually the same powers as his "colonial" predecessor. In fact, the incumbent is the same man. The Guinea Government remains as before, directly responsible to the *Dirección General de Plazas y Provincias Africanas* in Madrid, which in turn continues under the authority of the *Presidencia del Gobierno*. Also, the 1960 elections, while conducted with much energy, allowed no substantive choice to the African electorate, and the new Cortes delegates occupy seats that are patently more honorific than legislative.

The Spanish formula of "incorporative integration," however superficial in practice, seems to have spawned political quiescence among the fixed population. But within the past year more than a score of migrant Nigerian laborers have been imprisoned for "agitation," suggesting that the impetus to African nationalism might well be imported into Guinea through the very workers upon which the cocoa-growing economy depends. Perhaps as calculated means to ensure continuing Spanish dominion, about 35 Guinea Africans were admitted to peninsular military academies early this year and Spanish warships now visit Guinea ports with increasing frequency and fanfare.

Under a system of state marketing agencies which buy Guinea produce at subsidized prices, the economy has experienced something of a boom. The metropole annually consumes almost 100 percent of the cocoa yield; both coffee and timber production reached all-time highs in 1960; and mounting banana exports have since 1957 elicited anguished protests from rival Canary Island producers. Currently underway is the construction of a first-class international airport outside Santa Isabel, reflecting the Spanish hope that Guinea will shortly become a major West African communications terminal.

About This Issue . . .

This November issue launches the new expanded *Africa Report*, which will henceforth customarily be 24 pages, eight pages more than in the past. In part, this expansion is possible because of the rapid growth in both our domestic and overseas circulation over the past two years—nearly 100 percent since January 1960. In the month of October 1961 alone, 852 new paid subscribers were entered in our books.

SPANISH SAHARA

Population: 19,235 (including 1,710 Europeans) plus 50,000 to 80,000 nomads who itinerate between Spanish Sahara, Morocco, and Mauritania

Area: 105,448 square miles

Capital: El Aaiun

Political Status: Spanish province

Principal Political Figure:
Mariano Alonso Alonso,
Governor-General

The Spanish Sahara—more than half the size of Spain itself—is an extremely arid land with a population density of but .01 per square mile. Less than 200 Saharan children attend Spanish schools. However, because of the expectation that the region may be of great economic potential, Spain has expended ever-larger sums on administration and development, and in 1958 reinforced Spanish sovereignty over the area by making it a province.

At present, fishing is the chief industry and Saharan ports yearly handle about \$33,000 worth of seafood. Also, El Aaiun and Villa Cisneros host much air and maritime traffic. During World War II, the latter town served as an American air base. But official Spanish attention is now focused upon the province's mineral resources. While 11 international syndicates prospect for oil, parties of metropolitan geologists search for iron ore, phosphates, and uranium. The oil companies are expected to spend \$200,000,000 over a five-year period. If "black gold" is discovered, the region's deficit economy could undergo a revolution. On the supposition that valuable petroleum and other subsoil deposits exist, an interministerial commission in Madrid is already planning the construction of a new port city as an outlet for Saharan mineral produce. Because of its anticipated importance, this projected metropolis will ultimately supplant El Aaiun as the provincial capital.

The Sahara's economic promise seems to underlie Spain's exceptionally vigorous resistance to Moroccan border incursions and expansionist propaganda. In March 1961, for instance, a band of Moroccan irregulars attacked and captured a small group of oil prospectors near the northern Sahara-Morocco border. This single incident prompted not only severe diplomatic remonstrances to the Moroccan Government, but also the concentration of nearly 10,000 Spanish troops in the province, reinforcement of neighboring Canary Island garrisons, heated statements in the metropolitan press, and a categorical proclamation by Generalissimo Franco himself that Spanish banners would never be driven from the Sahara.

SUDAN

Population: 11,650,000

Area: 967,498 square miles

Capital: Khartoum

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figure: General Ibrahim Abboud,
President

Africa's largest country is Sudan, which was governed as an Anglo-Egyptian condominium for 56 years before it became an independent republic in 1956. The impressive parliamentary institutions developed under British tutelage lasted only two years, however, and in November 1958 the heretofore non-political Sudanese army staged a successful military coup "to ward off political chaos."

General Ibrahim Abboud's regime, which has survived four attempted counter-coups by dissident army factions, has abolished the Sudan's several rival political parties and established discreet but firm authoritarian rule which permits little public disagreement with its policies. It has settled the long-standing dispute with Egypt over the Nile waters, effected a remarkable recovery from the crisis which beset the cotton-based economy in 1957 and 1958, and won endorsement from all major political factions by accelerating the educational effort to extend the Arab, Islamic culture of the north to the largely pagan southern provinces.

Despite these accomplishments, the regime has encountered increasingly open opposition in the past year. In 1960, 20 former political leaders joined forces to urge a return to civilian government and the drawing up of a new constitution. The appeal was unanswered, and in July 1961 many of the signatories—including two former Prime Ministers—were arrested and sent to detention in the south. The death in October 1961 of Sayyid Siddiq al-Mahdi, leader of the powerful Ansar sect (est. 1,500,000 members) and the country's most formidable civilian critic of army rule, would seem to reinforce the army's position for the time being. The new Imam of the Ansar—Sayyid Siddiq's 42-year old half-brother, Sayyid al-Hadi—has not heretofore been active in politics and is unlikely to challenge the government while still consolidating his position among the Ansar.

The foreign policy of the Sudan is one of conservative neutralism, which in practice has meant non-alignment with either of the major intra-African political groupings and acceptance of economic assistance from both the West and the Soviet Bloc. In 1961, General Abboud paid state visits to both Moscow and Washington.

SWAZILAND

Population: 254,000 (including 8,700 Europeans and 1,600 Euraficans)

Area: 6,704 square miles

Capital: Mbabane

Political Status: British High Commission Territory

Principal Political Figures:

Sobhuza II, Paramount Chief of the Swazis; J. J. Nkuku, leader of the Swaziland Progressive Party; British Resident Commissioner Brian Marwick

Swaziland, one of the three British High Commission Territories in southern Africa which the UK declined to transfer to South Africa when the Union was formed in 1910, has the status of a British protectorate. It is governed by a Resident Commissioner (advised by the National Council of the Swazi people and a European advisory council) under the direction of an overall High Commissioner who deals with Basutoland and Bechuanaland as well. Despite its location within the confines of South Africa, Swaziland is entering a period of fundamental political change which will probably eventually lead to independence.

Major political groupings include (1) the Paramount Chief of the Swazis, Sobhuza II, and the members of the Swazi National Council, who favor the development of a multi-racial government in Swaziland which would retain the substance of traditional authority; (2) the Swaziland Progressive Party, which seeks a non-racial democracy for the territory in the near future and independence within a few years; (3) representatives of Swaziland's large white settler population on the European Advisory Board, who accept the inevitability of change but hope to establish a formula for racial partnership that would maintain European economic and political supremacy; and (4) the government, represented by Resident Commissioner Brian Marwick, which is now drafting a constitution to give Swaziland its first legislative council and establish organs of local government, apparently with the longer-term aim of moving Swaziland in the direction of a non-racial democracy.

These political forces are taking shape in a country which is likely to enjoy growing economic prosperity. At present, the mainstay of the economy is asbestos, of which more than 30,000 tons are exported annually; however, large deposits of high grade iron ore have recently been found in the northwestern part of the territory near Mbabane, and plans are already underway to build a railway link between this area and Lourenco Marques. A new pulp in-

dustry is expected to produce 100,000 tons of wood pulp in 1961, and a sugar mill is producing 60,000 tons of sugar annually. Some 400,000 newly-planted citrus trees promise to begin producing soon, and several thousand tons of rice and seed cotton are already exported each year. Although Europeans dominate the economy, over half of the country is farmed by Africans, among whom the principal cash crops are cotton, tobacco, rice, vegetables, and animal products. About 12,000 Swazis normally work in the mines and on the farms of neighboring South Africa.

TANGANYIKA

Population: 9,237,000

Area: 362,688 square miles

Capital: Dar es Salaam

Political Status: UN Trust

Territory under British administration

Principal Political Figures:

Prime Minister Julius Nyerere; George Kahama, Chief Abdullah Fundikira, Oscar Kambona (Ministers)

Tanganyika will become an independent state on December 9, 1961, after some 75 years of foreign rule, by Germany (1885-1919) and Great Britain (first under Mandate, and since 1947 under International Trusteeship.) Of the total population, about 20,000 are Europeans and 72,000 Asians. The former dominated the territory's political life until 1954 when Julius Nyerere formed the Tanganyika African National Union. TANU pursued a course of gradual constitutional advancement for Africans, but was nonetheless militantly rationalistic in its pursuit of self-government. The party won an overwhelming victory in the Legislative Council election of 1958, and since then has faced no significant opposition in the country. After winning all seats but one in the 1960 election, TANU led the country rapidly through the stages of responsible and internal self-government. The principal features of this transition were the extremely good relations between Nyerere and the British Government, and the considerable harmony among the main racial communities.

A member of the East Africa High Commission since 1948, Tanganyika has now taken the lead in preparing the way for a political federation with Kenya and Uganda. Nyerere's statesmanship has won support from African leaders in the Central African Federation as well. Nyerere, while proposing a policy of "independent" neutralism for Tanganyika, apparently looks to the West for economic support and inspiration. Because of this, he has encountered some opposition within his own party. However, he still enjoys the support,

even adoration, of most of the country.

The real problems facing Tanganyika at present are economic. The land is poor, and devoted largely to subsistence agriculture. The principal exports are sisal (European-owned), coffee, cotton, and diamonds. Because of the fluctuation of world prices of the first three, Tanganyika's mainstays, the government is seeking developmental capital from the United States and Great Britain in order to afford the country a more solid economic base in primary and secondary industry. The first order of business is, however, education and communications, both sectors lagging far behind those in Kenya and Uganda. Kivukoni College, a commercial school, has been established and the liberal arts University College of Tanganyika, with a law school, has recently begun operations.

TOGO

Population: 1,100,000

Area: 21,850 square miles

Capital: Lome

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figure:

President Sylvanus Olympio

Togo, part of the German colony of Togoland divided between Britain and France in 1914, subsequently became a French-administered UN Trust Territory. In April 1960, with UN and French blessings, it acceded to independence as a republic. Neighboring Ghana, into which British-administered Togoland had been incorporated in 1956, objects to the balkanization of Africa into units as small as Togo and contends that the Ewe people should be united by incorporation of Togo into Ghana. This might have happened by now were Togo's president and principal figure not Sylvanus Olympio, a politician-statesman of rare ability who is totally dedicated to the task of making Togo politically and economically stable.

The former General Manager of United Africa Company Limited, Olympio rose to power over strong French objections in the late 1950's and has further solidified his position since independence. Elections held under a new presidential constitution in April 1961 gave Olympio's *Comite de l'Unité Togolaise* almost 100 percent of the 563,878 votes cast. Two small opposition parties, the *Mouvement de la Jeunesse Togolaise* (JUVENTO) and *Union Democratique du Peuple Togolaise* (UDPT) have been largely neutralized, though some of the country's younger citizens, returning from university educations abroad, are not happy with the ideological conservatism of the regime and the lack of opportunity in a bureaucracy dominated by the middle-aged.

With the nationalist struggle behind him, Olympio has established rewarding economic relations with France, but has not joined the French Community. In foreign affairs, Togo is carefully neutral toward the East-West struggle and also remains uncommitted to either of the two major political groupings within Africa. Partly because of its former status as a trust territory, Togo strongly supports the United Nations and shows a preference for aid through UN channels.

Although Togo's economic prospects are not impressive, the largely agricultural economy has enough diversity to protect the country from fluctuating prices on world markets. Some phosphate will be exported for the first time this year. Economic and social development of the country will be dependent upon aid from external sources, however. Although President Olympio managed to balance the budget in 1959 by careful economies, this was not possible in 1960 or 1961.

TUNISIA

Population: 3,900,000

Area: 48,300 square miles

Capital: Tunis

Political Status: Independent republic

Principal Political Figure: President Habib Bourghiba

The Neo-Destour, founded by Habib Bourghiba in 1934 and the governing party of Tunisia since independence from France in 1956, has long been one of the most shrewdly-organized and solidly-united mass political parties in Africa. However, the unwillingness of the United States and Britain to take Tunisia's side in the Bizerte crisis of August 1961—when some 670 Tunisians were killed and 1155 wounded in a clash with French troops over the survival of this French military base on Tunisian soil—dramatically put in question the pro-Western foreign policy of President Bourghiba and, by inference, his leadership. Latent neutralist opposition to Bourghibaism came to the surface under the leadership of Information Minister Mohamed Mahmoudi, and was reinforced by the novelty of having the Tunisian cause supported in the UN by the more radical African and Asian states.

Bourghiba now appears to have succeeded in isolating his chief critics politically, while adjusting to a new course lying somewhere between a neutralist and a pro-Western orientation. The conflict at Bizerte also served to restore rapport between the Algerian rebels and Tunisia (though Tunisia's claim to 1100 square miles of the Algerian Sahara is bound to be a future sore point), and to heal Tunisia's three-year breach in diplo-

matic relations with Egypt. The issue of continued French military presence in Bizerte continues to fester.

Tunisia is the smallest of the North African countries, and its economic outlook is the least promising. Agriculture, which engages about two thirds of the population and contributes some 40 percent of the national income, is the mainstay of the economy, with grain, olive oil, wine, citrus fruits, and cork the principal exports. Heavy industry is inhibited by the lack of fuel resources, but light industry now contributes about 28 percent of the national income.

Mining, particularly phosphates, indirectly supports about 100,000 people. Intensive economic and social planning by the government, reinforced by considerable injections of French and, more recently, US technical and financial assistance, is aimed at reducing the gap between national output and the population increase, which has resulted in increasing unemployment during recent years. On the other hand, Tunisia enjoys a number of keys to nationhood shared by few other African states—a high degree of racial, religious, and linguistic homogeneity; an absence of formidable internal geographic barriers; and relatively easy internal communication.

UGANDA

Population: 6,536,616

Area: 93,981

Capital: Entebbe

Political Status: British protectorate

Principal Political Figures: Governor Sir Frederick Crawford; Chief Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka (Democratic Party); A.M. Obote, leader of the Uganda People's Congress; Kabaka Frederick Mutesa II of Buganda

As a result of agreements reached in the course of a constitutional conference held in London in October 1961, Uganda is now scheduled to have internal self-government under an African Prime Minister on March 1, 1962; general elections in April; and—tentatively—full independence on October 9, 1962. The traditional leaders of the country's largest and most prosperous province of Buganda—who have boycotted the last two elections for the central Legislative Council and have periodically threatened to secede if an independent unitary state were created—have now agreed in principle that Buganda will remain an integral part of Uganda after independence. Buganda has been assured a considerable degree of internal autonomy, but the key issue of whether its 21 representatives in the central National Assembly are to be chosen indirectly or by

democratic elections is not yet resolved. New agreements are also to be negotiated with Uganda's three other kingdoms—Ankole, Bunyoro, and Toro—to devise safeguards for their traditional status. The official language of the independent Uganda will be English.

First penetrated by Europeans in 1862, Uganda is a land of great natural beauty, fertile soil, and pleasant climate. With a basically stable agricultural economy, a small but well-educated (Makerere College) African elite, no white settler problem to complicate political change, and a protecting power sympathetic to Africanization, Uganda might well have been one of the first African states to achieve independence but for its failure to develop a cohesive nationalist movement capable of bridging the country's tribal and religious schisms. As a result of elections held in March 1961, the Catholic-based Democratic Party, which won 43 of 82 seats, formed a government under Chief Minister Benedicto Kiwanuka. However, the party which gained the majority of the popular vote is the Uganda People's Congress, led by A.M. Obote. A rumored tactical alliance between the leadership of Buganda and Mr. Obote's party would appear to ensure the latter's accession to power in next April's election—assuming that Uganda's heretofore fluid party lines now remain firm.

UPPER VOLTA

Population: 3,350,000

Area: 105,900 square miles

Capital: Ouagadougou

Political Status: Independent republic; member of the Conseil de l'Entente

Principal Political Figure: President Maurice Yameogo

The former French territory of Upper Volta, which became independent on August 5, 1960, has had a checkered political history. Upper Volta first appeared on modern maps in 1919, when a separate entity was carved out of the colonies of Ivory Coast and Niger. It survived in this incarnation only until 1932, however, when France dismembered the territory in response to various regional economic and political pressures and again distributed its parts among neighboring segments of French West Africa. Its re-emergence as a separate territory in 1947 was part of another tactical maneuver in regional politics.

In January 1959, the leadership of Upper Volta tentatively agreed to bring the country into the proposed Mali Federation. Before that federation was properly formed, this decision was revised under economic

pressure from France and the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta joined instead the anti-federalist *Conseil de l'Entente*, comprising also Ivory Coast, Niger, and Dahomey. Eighty percent of Upper Volta's export trade is with Ghana, however, and it was partly in recognition of this fact and partly because of a disagreement with Ivory Coast over customs duties that President Maurice Yameogo unexpectedly signed a separate customs union and other agreements for technological cooperation at Accra in May 1961. Reports that Upper Volta was considering leaving the *Entente* to join the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union seem to have been ill-founded.

President Yameogo's maneuverability is limited by the poverty of his landlocked, agricultural country, but he holds one crucial bargaining counter—his country's central geographical position. By joining the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union, Upper Volta could provide Ghana with its first territorial link with its associated states; such a step would, at the same time, isolate Ivory Coast geographically from its other two *Entente* partners, Niger and Dahomey.

Although Upper Volta has not rejoined the French Community since independence, it remains in the franc zone and the Common Market and continues to require considerable French economic assistance; it also has close ties with France through the Brazzaville grouping of French-speaking African States. The governing party is the *Union Democratique Voltaïque*, which has neutralized most opposition and now holds 71 out of 75 seats in the National Assembly.

ZANZIBAR

Population: 299,111

Zanzibar: 165,253

Pemba: 133,858

Area: 1,020 square miles

Political Status: British protectorate

Capital: Zanzibar

Principal Political Figures:

British Resident Sir George Mooring; Sultan Sayyid Sir Abdullah bin Khalifa; Chief Minister Sheikh Muhammad Shante; Sheikh Ali Muhsin, leader of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party; and Sheikh Othman Shariff Musa and Abeid Karume, leaders of the opposition Afro-Shirazi Party

At the end of the seventeenth century, the inhabitants of Zanzibar—a 50-mile long island off the coast of Tanganyika—drove out the Portuguese with the assistance of the Arabs of Oman, and thereafter an

Arab governor was sent to govern. In the nineteenth century, Zanzibar's golden age, the island prospered on its clove plantations and the slave trade, and the port of Zanzibar was the most important in East Africa. Government and most of the wealth were in the hands of the governing Arab sultan and the Arab minority, while Asians served as middlemen and Africans provided the labor. In 1890, the island (together with neighboring Pemba) became a British protectorate, though the Sultan remained the nominal ruler.

The end of the slave trade and a dwindling demand for cloves (which comprise 80 percent of Zanzibar's exports) have brought economic decline in the present century, and sharp political cleavages between the Arab minority and the African majority have slowed political evolution.

Constitutional reforms introduced by Britain in 1960 resulted in an elected majority in the Legislative Council in 1961, but the elections preceding the establishment of "responsible self-government" were marked by open violence between the two major racial groups. The dominant political figure in the fragile two-party governing coalition which emerged from the June 1961 elections is Sheikh Ali Muhsin, leader of the Arab-dominated Zanzibar Nationalist Party, who would have Zanzibar follow a policy of neutral opportunism. To solidify the coalition, however, Sheikh Ali Muhsin stepped aside to allow the leader of the small Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), Sheikh Muhammad Shante, to become Chief Minister. Seats in the legislative council are distributed as follows: ZNP, 10; Afro-Shirazi Party, 10; ZNPP, three.

Neither the ZNP nor the opposition Afro-Shirazi Party has reacted enthusiastically to the affiliation of an independent Zanzibar with the proposed East African Federation—in part because of an unresolved dispute with Kenya over the future status of a narrow strip of the Kenya coast which legally belongs to the Zanzibar Sultanate, but has been rented by Great Britain on behalf of Kenya since 1895. It is also noteworthy that Zanzibar is 97 percent Moslem, whereas the other major candidates for the Federation—Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika—are not.

Additional copies of this issue are available (while the supply lasts) at 50 cents each. Special rates for orders of 75 or more.

Central Africans Form Students' Union

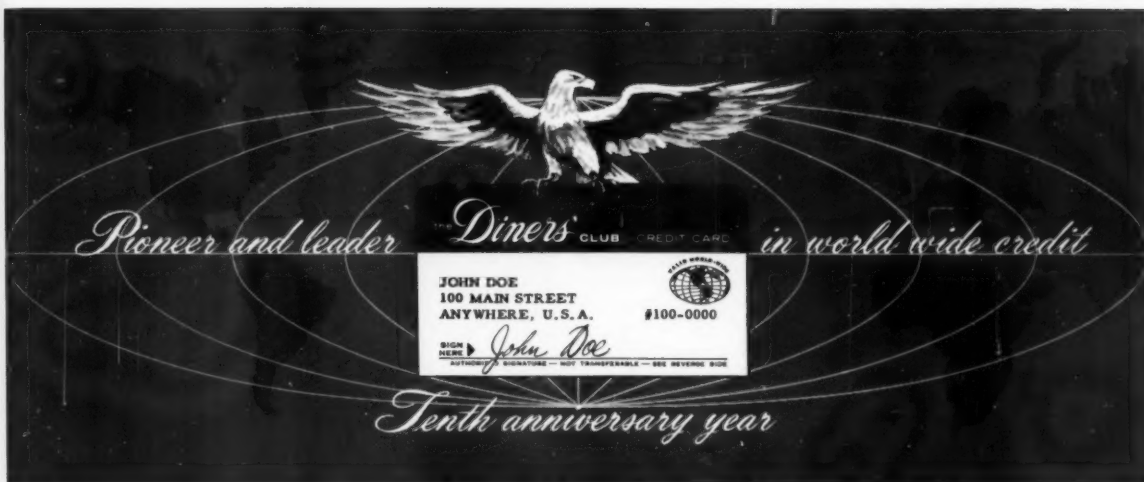
Skeva A. Soko from Northern Rhodesia has been elected president of the Central African Students' Union of America, Inc., an organization founded in January 1961 by students from the Rhodesias and Nyasaland studying in the United States. The Union is designed to assist students in their adjustment to the American way of life and to strengthen their bonds with their homeland. Other members of the executive council are Secretary-Treasurer Siteke G. Mwale of Northern Rhodesia, Eddison J. Zvobgo of Southern Rhodesia, David Z. Kadzamira of Nyasaland, Justin M. Katongo of Northern Rhodesia, and Miss Emily B. Maliwa of Nyasaland. Inquiries should be addressed to Mr. Mwale at Box 240, Johnson Hall, Temple University, Philadelphia 22, Pennsylvania.

UNESCO Conference Attended by 2,000

There is nothing dark and mysterious about Africa that will not be cleared up by better understanding of African peoples, their customs, and their cultures. This was the gist of President Kennedy's message to the Eighth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, held in Boston from October 22-26. Some 2,000 delegates attended part or all of the sessions.

To shed more light on Africa, the conference called on 288 speakers, including about 50 Africans representing 16 countries. The conference—the largest ever held in the United States on Africa—was divided into nine plenary sessions, four section meetings and 60 panel discussions. A full report will be available in the near future from the UNESCO Office of the US Department of State.

The Conference, arranged in cooperation with Boston University, featured the theme: "Africa and the United States—Images and Realities." The major objective, as stated by Dr. Vernon McKay, conference chairman and Director of African Studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, was to broaden and deepen American understanding of the achievements and aspirations of Africa's peoples and to develop ideas which may be useful to the US Government in developing its policies toward Africa in the fields of science and education.



February 28th, 1950:

The Day They Killed Cash

Jim Bishop, Reporter

Jim Bishop, the famous newspaperman, is the author of the best-selling books, "The Day Lincoln Was Shot" and "The Day Christ Died." He is also a widely syndicated columnist.

Cash, of course, has not died. If you think so, try doing without it. In my family it is used freely. Too freely. I have often asked my children if they thought I was made of it and, after a moment of hesitation, they have said: "Yes." This proves that the girls are either not very bright, or too bright.



Bishop

These days, I carry very little cash. The wallet has attained a slimmness I wish I could imitate. It holds about twenty dollars, some color photos of my grandchildren, a reporter's police card, an owner and driver's license, a St. Christopher medal and a Diners' Club Card.

That's enough to get me where I want to go, and home again safely. I don't need anything else. I was studying the Diners' Club Card—a miraculous piece of cardboard—and thinking of how far man has traveled in trying to understand his own needs.

Not too many centuries ago—a slow wink in the eye of Sirius—there were no banks. Whatever currency a family had was kept in jars around the house. If the house burned, or was robbed, the family fortune disappeared. Then came the first private banks, and these economists charged a fee to store money for safekeeping.

It was not until later that bankers found out that money on deposit could be invested for the good of all, and that interest could be paid to the depositor. Some of these men, you will recall, invested unwisely in the years 1907 and 1929, and long lines of discouraged depositors stood before closed banks, hoping

the hope of the hopeless.

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Four American Views of Neutralism

HARVEY GLICKMAN

Book Editor

The Edge of Freedom, by John B. Oakes (New York: Harper, 1961), 129 pages, \$3.50.

The Emerging Nations, Their Growth and United States Policy, ed. by Max F. Millikan and Donald L. M. Blackmer (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961) 171 pages, \$1.75 (paper).

New Perspectives on Sub-Saharan Africa, by James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. (Washington, DC: Union for Democratic Action Educational Fund, 1961), 24 pages, 25¢.

Neutralism, by Arnold Wolfers, et al. (Washington, DC, Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, 1961), 122 pages, n.p.

Not all of these publications are concerned with Africa in particular, but all bear on a critical aspect of American foreign policy. How America should respond to a policy of "neutralism," so characteristic of the foreign relations of the new states—especially in Africa—is a question which has opened a continuing debate. Its resolution will have important implications for the kind of world in which we all live in the next generation. All the authors represented above try to influence the course of the debate. Probably they shall be able to, for many of them belong to the inner circle of middle-level experts who drift in and out of high offices in Washington.

Mr. Oakes, the new editorial director of the *New York Times*, travelled through parts of Africa and Eastern Europe, intending specifically to report on the forces that have made for non-alignment there. His analysis, which might have been regarded once as a devastating critique of official American attitudes, now appears standard: (1) Neutralism is not an attempt to withdraw from international relations, but it is an expression of national sentiments that does not see national interests totally bound up with one side or the other in the Cold War. (2) Neutralist nations—most of them only recently independent—identify Western colonialism as the single greatest threat to their national freedom. (3) Neutralist nations welcome help from either or both sides in the Cold War in order to increase their freedom of action and advance schemes for economic development. (4) Underdevelopment and internal divisions, which are the chief characteristics of post-colonial neutralist nations, seem to demand authoritarian, socialist solutions; the US must be tolerant of these trends. (5) The American response should be to support measures which enhance stability and independence in these nations and not press for democracy,

individual liberties or free enterprise. We should display "sympathy without condescension." All this may be acceptable, but today it represents the beginning, not the end of the discussion.

Dr. Millikan and Dr. Blackmer, of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, helped put together one of the now-famous set of reports for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1960. They claim their book is "an extensive revision of that document," but aside from certain deletions of detail, some rearranging of chapters and the introduction of some new, but not vital categories of analysis, the language, ideas, and recommendations remain much the same. (A new format, however, makes for easier reading.) All this is to the good, for it permits access by a wider audience to a most stimulating "inter-disciplinary" analysis of the process of modernization. It may not be a theory, but it contains the elements of one.



Regarding our present concerns, the MIT study suggests that relations with "neutralists" may undergird a whole new system of international relations, which is already recognizable. In place of the older system of states, which in peacetime acted on the premise of non-interference in the internal affairs of others, America must now operate—indeed promote—an era of competition for influence over the development of the newer states by the older ones. International relations already means more than contact—it means help.

The MIT group sees greater possibility for long-term benefits to our interests than some doubters, like Professor Rupert Emerson, whom they quote. They assert that our interests are served among the underdeveloped states by independence, the prevention of violence, effective internal order, and—what is supposed to follow if the right choices are made and if the correct techniques adopted—the encouragement of "open societies." It remains unclear, however, whether or at what point the US must abandon support for friendly, but "closed societies" and whether popular, effective and progressive government will lead to democratiza-

tion. The authors are certain, in any case, that we have no choice but to enter the race.

Professors Coleman and Rosberg, of the University of California (Los Angeles and Berkeley, respectively), write with the economy and clarity to which their readers have grown accustomed. Their booklet is a model of high-level pamphleteering in which the major recommendations revolve around accommodation to the fact of African non-alignment and the promotion of a policy that has been termed popularly as "keeping the Cold War out of Africa." This means acceptance of "diversified" ties between Africa, on the one hand, and the East and the West, on the other, as well as "tolerance" for authoritarian, socialist regimes. All of this supposes that genuine neutralism strengthens stability and independence in the new African states and in the world at large, since it acts to prevent Communist penetration. In a sense, the advice here reverses the advice on Asia 10 or 15 years ago, but seeks the same goal by indicating that we can check the advance of Communism, not by demanding friendly, free enterprising democracies, but by avoiding such demands.

The publication of the Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research is at once the least unified and the most provocative. It should be read by everyone who thinks that solitary ratiocination about international politics must yield to cooperative efforts joined to computers. Ranging from some general musings on imperialism by Reinhold Niebuhr to a brilliant, analytical examination of the positions of the new states at the UN during the Congo crisis by Robert Good (part of which appeared in *Africa Report*, July 1961), to a careful survey of the speeches of Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser by Ernest Lefever, the collection of articles manages to present neutralism from all three possible viewpoints—the West, the East, and the neutralists themselves.

Neutralism emerges somewhat less stable, less unified, and less respectable than one might have thought. Good indicates bitter and possibly unbridgeable divisions among the African states on several vital issues. Lefever demonstrates that the aspirations of the neutralists reach far beyond their means or their accomplishments and intimates that neutralism may be as protean as the enhancement of national power. Charles Burton Marshall, formerly of the Policy Planning Staff in the Department of State, indicates that the Communists cannot regard neutralism as anything but a "national bourgeois" stage, which they regard as leading

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA, by J. D. Fage Professor Fage, a leading authority on Africa and for many years Professor of History at the University of Ghana, here explores the uncharted paths of West African history. With balanced perspective he presents and interprets the historical development of this region, from its early tribes and first colonizers to its complex life of the present. \$3.00



to eventual Communist revolution. Finally, George Liska, who has produced two books on the theory of international politics, contributes the most comprehensive critique. Briefly stated, Liska shows that neutralism is less a blue-print for a new system of international relations than a response to the opportunities of a divided world. Confident in the automatic protection afforded by a bi-polar balance of terror, which immobilizes the chief antagonists, but frees the impotent, the neutralists may so destabilize the world situation that new dangers of irresponsibility emerge. What the US therefore must avoid is a situation in which the small powers are defining the interests of the larger ones.

Indiscriminate support for all neutralists by the US merely increases the perils of international irresponsibility. Liska asks for continuous re-evaluation of the shifting directions of the states pursuing self-styled "positive neutralism." His analysis serves to draw together what all the writers in the symposium indicate: American sympathy for neutralism must not obscure the fact that distinctions may have to be made among neutralists and among apparently appropriate measures, if American policy is not to decline into a haphazard search for popularity.

• • •

Jomo Kenyatta: Towards Truth About "The Light of Kenya," by George Delf (*Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961*), 215 pages, \$3.95.

White To Move? A Portrait of East Africa Today, by Paul Foster (*London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961*), 199 pages, 25s.

Bush and Boma, by J. C. Cairns (*London: John Murray, 1959*), 178 pages, 18s.

It seems altogether probable that the tenure of the European in Africa ultimately will have a greater effect on the white people than on the black. The Africans show unmistakable signs of overcoming their doubts and self-hatreds, their fears and insecurities. If they still demonstrate a mercurial bellicosity, it may stem more from newly-acquired confidence than from puzzled frustration. More and more whites, on the other hand, are guilt-ridden and beset by vague questions concerning the justice or the reasons behind their role in an alien and recalcitrant environment. Mr. Delf, a young journalist who chose to call his book an "examination," rather than a biography of Jomo Kenyatta, puts it this way: "Europe may discover that Africa has taught her some facts about herself which she had never been fully aware of." Indeed all these books, ostensibly glimpses of the political and social problems of East Africa, reveal more about the settlers and administrators than about the native population.

The theme of the psychological impact of one civilization on another

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Write for folder describing other books on Africa.

continually re-appears. Mr. Delf asserts that Victorian prudery, misplaced missionary zeal, racial arrogance, simple ignorance, and avarice on the part of the early European arrivals in Kenya were largely responsible for the splintering of Kikuyu tribal structure and the destruction of Kikuyu security and self-respect. Mau Mau therefore emerges not as tribal statism, but as a monstrous and perverted reaction to the results of European penetration. The brunt of Mr. Delf's description of the world of Jomo Kenyatta—he reveals little that is new, except some personal details of Kenyatta's life in England—adds up to a serious indictment of the European presence in virtually all its aspects. How such a demoralized civilization can contribute anything further to Africa, except possibly some mechanical

techniques, becomes difficult to understand.

Father Foster, the Roman Catholic Chaplain at Makerere College, reflects on the meaning of the European contribution, especially in education, in the context of an extended tour he managed to make of East Africa during his long vacations. He agrees that the obvious gap between ideal and deed in the Christianity that arrived in East Africa explains a great deal about African resentment. (Although charitable toward all sects, it is to be expected that Father Foster sees the individualism of Protestantism as an added complication in transforming pagans into believers.)

Although the author's admiration for Africans—because they are people, not because they are "underdogs"—shines through his narrative, he concludes with the conventional doubts

about fitness to rule and appreciation of Western ideas. Africans demand power and not perception in their education, he laments, but given the conditions he describes, it is difficult to see how it can be otherwise at present.

Mr. Cairns, a Canadian, served for several years as a District Officer in Tanganyika. He has assembled a set of short, incidental sketches—what used to be called "a slice of life"—loosely strung together on one theme: the exasperation felt by both sides when an alien government attempts to impose "order" and "reason" on an uncomprehending society. What results in this book is a tragicomic charade, in which inertia always triumphs over progress. Nobody seems to know why the white man came, what he was doing in Africa, or why he has to leave.

• • •

The Dawn of African History, ed. by Roland Oliver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 108 pages, \$1.70.

History of East Africa, by Richard Reusch (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), 347 pages, \$4.50.

A small group of scholars are busily exploring what Mr. Oliver calls "the perimeter-wall of African history." In the absence of records, except "stones, bones and hardware," historians must reconstruct the past through a variety of indirect approaches, e.g., through the study of linguistic relationships and culture contact and through the journals of travellers and explorers from the more literate margins of the continent. Recently, to continue the metaphor, more windows in the wall have been discovered and more people are peering in.

The little book edited by Roland Oliver, Reader in History at the University of London and editor of the *Journal of African History*, is a masterpiece of an introduction to Africa's pre-colonial past and an excellent brief summary of what we know and what we do not know. Twelve experts pursue the task, each covering a different region in a separate chapter. Most of the chapters were originally talks on the BBC Overseas Service, a fact which may account for their elegance and clarity, although much is packed into a small space.

In assessing "the African achievement," Mr. Oliver inevitably compares it with that of Europe. Of course, it will not do to observe merely that "the African never invented the wheel," for probably not one such observer, as Mr. Oliver notes, "would himself have had the genius to do so." The main explanatory difference lies in the primary lack of "the stimulus of long-distance trade and travel, which is as necessary to civilization as the circulation of the blood to the human body." In this light the ac-

The Foundations of Freedom: Law and Government in Southern Africa, by D. V. Cowen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 258 pages, \$7.00.

In his preface, Professor Cowen writes: "In attempting a restatement of the ideal of government under law, and of what is needed to implement it in an African context, I am very conscious that I have undertaken a most formidable task. . . ." With scholarly urgency that occasionally sounds almost desperate, he performs the second part of his task better than the first. Though reasonably skeptical about the efficacy of constitution-making, Cowen recommends a number of conventional means for averting the several catastrophes that may befall South Africa. Among these institutions and procedures are: a wide franchise, a rigid constitution with an "entrenched" bill of rights protected by judicial review on the American model, and federalism.

Cowen's approach is informed by the spirit of the Common Law, of which he is a renowned practitioner with Southern African experience in constitutional litigation (*Harris v. Donges*) and construction (Basutoland). Since his book is addressed to his fellow South Africans, many of whom, including Afrikaners, still seem strongly committed to due process of law, the limitations of this background may actually enhance the book's appeal. Chief among these limitations is Professor Cowen's apparent unfamiliarity with more recent experience in constitution-building elsewhere in the world, in Africa and beyond. Lord Bryce did write some excellent studies of constitutionalism and democracy (a distinction that might have saved some trouble in this book), but much has happened since Bryce's time. For instance, no scholars

today would attribute either color prejudice, or taste "for symmetrical theories and logical principles" to the "Teutonic" origins of the Afrikaners, though perhaps to the Roman Law background of South Africa's legal system, which it has in common with Scotland, as Cowen mentions in this context.

In view of the gravity and uniqueness of South Africa's problems, reference to almost antique proposals for Moravia seem irrelevant. Even the two North American models are unlikely to be sufficiently attractive to all those groups, whose opposition to copying from them would ruin constitutional experimentation in South Africa.

But these limitations may be assets, to the extent that the book was intended to win converts mainly among Afrikaners. To them, the "restatement of the ideal government under law" on the basis of Christian Natural Law may appeal, the more so because some space is devoted to the influence of Natural Law on the Huguenots and the revolt of the Netherlands. Cowen is much more familiar with recent literature on Natural Law, on which the book contains a "Short Bibliography," followed by the more relevant Universal Declaration, and the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights.

Chances seem slim that enough of Mr. Cowen's fellow citizens of the Republic of South Africa will agree with his elaborate statement of the foundations of freedom. If there is any hope left for his country, it may rather come from the commitment to due process, engendered by the Common Law and its untheoretical practitioners, of whom Professor Cowen is an outstanding exemplar.

—Herbert J. Spiro

complishments of the African people "become quite impressive."

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Rapid political change provides endless opportunities for a new crop of "background" books every season. These are no exception to the general run; they are short, superficial surveys of recent events and contemporary social problems. They bristle with "dramatic contrasts," "explosive situations," etc. and they suffer from the expected shortcomings of severe compression. But a few deficiencies

were probably avoidable. For example, the Gattis display some rather irrelevant romanticism in concluding with a description of the joys of primitivity among the Sonjo of Tanganyika; Professor Italiaander holds some simplistic views of the role of virtuous intent in politics; Mr. Cameron is careless in several places with small details and facts. The Royal African Society booklet makes little pretense of unity—it is a verbatim record of two days of lectures—yet even its palpable conversational graces cannot save it from going off in a bewildering variety of directions. Nevertheless, all the books remain brisk and readable and perform some service for the uninitiated reader (are there any left?).

3. **The Belgian Congo**, by Ruth Slade, with an additional chapter by Marjory Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1961), 82 pages, 80c. The first edition in 1960 of this excellent little book somehow escaped the attention of this department. It is a brief discussion of the recent history of the Congo prior to independence and remains particularly useful on the few years of under-cover politics among a small number of Congolese before the 1959 riots. Dr. Slade marks the break-up of Belgian solidarity with the introduction of the issue of clericalism in education into the Congo in 1954.

4. **The Economic Implications of Political Democracy, The Road to Economic Progress**, by Sheila T. Van Der Horst (Johannesburg: Anglo-American Corp., supplement to *Optima*, June 1960), 50 pages, n.p.

A careful survey of what is necessary economically if the requirements of a democratic society in South Africa can be met. As stated by Miss Van Der Horst, the purpose is "to see where our society transgresses them and how it might move towards meeting them." The conclusion, that color restrictions are irrational and threaten further economic progress, is not novel. Whether widespread advertising of the idea will help the situation is, of course, another matter.

5. **Serengeti Shall Not Die**, by Bernhard and Michael Grzimek, trans. by E. L. and D. Rewald (New York: Dutton, 1961), 344 pages, \$6.95. Sometimes it seems Africanists divide into two groups, each blind to the interests of the other: the animal-fanciers and the people-lovers. This book ought to extend the lines of communication between the two. Its main virtue, perhaps, lies in demonstrating the human significance of animal conservation, for, as the authors hold, men need nature to quicken their spirits and make them more truly men. Professor Grzimek, director of the Frankfurt zoo, and his son, Michael, set out to survey, numerically and ecologically, the big game in Tanganyika's famous national park as a first step in a battle to save the

animals from increasing degradation and possible eventual extinction. Their enthusiasm and fortitude (as well as their photographs) border on incredible and one cannot help feel that the tragic death of Michael, while completing the aerial operation involved in the study, must not be in vain.

6. **French Colonialism, Progress or Poverty?** ed. by Harvey Goldberg (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1959), 44 pages, 75c.

The "New Imperialism," Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion, ed. by Harrison M. Wright (Boston: Heath, 1961), 110 pages, \$1.25.

The process of re-examining the age of imperialism, sparked by renewed interest of Africa's past, has penetrated the class rooms, as well. These two booklets of selections from a wide range of sources and comments ably provide a setting for a useful discussion of the "great issues."

BOOKS RECEIVED:

1. Two paperbacks recently added to the American list of Penguin Books, Baltimore: *Larger Birds of West Africa*, by David A. Bannerman (1958), 195 pages, 85c; *Reptiles of West Africa*, by George Canadale (1955), 104 pages, 85c.

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The Africa of 1961, A Continent of Change (London: Royal African Society, 1961), 143 pages, 10s.

Rapid political change provides endless opportunities for a new crop of "background" books every season. These are no exception to the general run; they are short, superficial surveys of recent events and contemporary social problems. They bristle with "dramatic contrasts," "explosive situations," etc. and they suffer from the expected shortcomings of severe compression. But a few deficiencies

were probably avoidable. For example, the Gattis display some rather irrelevant romanticism in concluding with a description of the joys of primitivity among the Sonjo of Tanganyika; Professor Italiaander holds some simplistic views of the role of virtuous intent in politics; Mr. Cameron is careless in several places with small details and facts. The Royal African Society booklet makes little pretense of unity—it is a verbatim record of two days of lectures—yet even its palpable conversational graces cannot save it from going off in a bewildering variety of directions. Nevertheless, all the books remain brisk and readable and perform some service for the uninitiated reader (are there any left?).

3. **The Belgian Congo**, by Ruth Slade, with an additional chapter by Marjory Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1961), 82 pages, 80¢. The first edition in 1960 of this excellent little book somehow escaped the attention of this department. It is a brief discussion of the recent history of the Congo prior to independence and remains particularly useful on the few years of under-cover politics among a small number of Congolese before the 1959 riots. Dr. Slade marks the break-up of Belgian solidarity with the introduction of the issue of clericalism in education into the Congo in 1954.

4. **The Economic Implications of Political Democracy, The Road to Economic Progress**, by Sheila T. Van Der Horst (Johannesburg: Anglo-American Corp., supplement to *Optima*, June 1960), 50 pages, n.p.

A careful survey of what is necessary economically if the requirements of a democratic society in South Africa can be met. As stated by Miss Van Der Horst, the purpose is "to see where our society transgresses them and how it might move towards meeting them." The conclusion, that color restrictions are irrational and threaten further economic progress, is not novel. Whether widespread advertising of the idea will help the situation is, of course, another matter.

5. **Serengeti Shall Not Die**, by Bernhard and Michael Grzimek, trans. by E. L. and D. Rewald (New York: Dutton, 1961), 344 pages, \$6.95. Sometimes it seems Africanists divide into two groups, each blind to the interests of the other: the animal fanciers and the people-lovers. This book ought to extend the lines of communication between the two. Its main virtue, perhaps, lies in demonstrating the human significance of animal conservation, for, as the authors hold, men need nature to quicken their spirits and make them more truly men. Professor Grzimek, director of the Frankfurt zoo, and his son, Michael, set out to survey, numerically and ecologically, the big game in Tanganyika's famous national park as a first step in a battle to save the

animals from increasing depredation and possible eventual extinction. Their enthusiasm and fortitude (as well as their photographs) border on incredible and one cannot help feel that the tragic death of Michael, while completing the aerial operation involved in the study, must not be in vain.

6. **French Colonialism, Progress or Poverty?** ed. by Harvey Goldberg (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1959), 44 pages, 75¢.

The "New Imperialism," Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion, ed. by Harrison M. Wright (Boston: Heath, 1961), 110 pages, \$1.25.

The process of re-examining the age of imperialism, sparked by renewed interest of Africa's past, has penetrated the class rooms, as well. These two booklets of selections from a wide range of sources and comments ably provide a setting for a useful discussion of the "great issues."

BOOKS RECEIVED:

1. Two paperbacks recently added to the American list of Penguin Books, Baltimore: **Larger Birds of West Africa**, by David A. Bannerman (1958), 195 pages, 85¢; **Reptiles of West Africa**, by George Cansdale (1955), 104 pages, 85¢.

"Africa Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lectures, information and visitor services.

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2. *The Food Economics of Urban Middle Africa: the Case of Ghana*, by Thomas T. Poleman (Stanford: Food Research Institute, 1961), 54 pages, \$1.50. Technical study.

The following concludes an area-by-area survey of recent noteworthy articles in non-Africanist periodicals. The first part of this survey appeared in the October issue of *Africa Report*.

Whole Issues—*Journal of International Affairs*, v. 15, #1, 1961: N.B. Francis X. Sutton, "Authority and Authoritarianism in the New Africa," emphasizing a continuity between paternalistic politics in pre-independence and post-independence phases; Donald S. Rothchild, "The Politics of African Separation," covering divisive forces over the whole continent. *International Affairs*, v. 36, Oct. 1960: Balanced introduction that includes influential contributors, e.g., Sir Andrew Cohen, S. H. Frankel, Gwendolen Carter. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, v. 5, March 1961: Four anthropological studies of the origins and functions of social conflict in different parts of Africa. *Civilisations*, v. 11, #1, 1961: N.B. John Beattie, "Democratization in Bunyoro," noting the survival of "feudal" authority patterns; J. Binet, "Les Cadres au Cameroun," observing that civil servants tend to form a hereditary caste. *Current History*, v. 40, Feb. 1961: summary and narrative of recent events over the whole continent. *Queens Quarterly*, v. 67, Summer 1960.

Congo and Equatorial Africa—*E. M. Miller*, "Legal Aspects of the UN action in the Congo," *American Journal of International Law*, v. 55, Jan. 1961: Despite heavy pressure, law and precedent have largely been followed and this is a continuing source of strength. *Patrick O'Donovan*, "The Precedent of the Congo," *International Affairs*, v. 37, April 1961: Positive action by the UN conceivably creates a precedent which could be applied in other places, e.g., New Guinea, Algeria, Rhodesias and Nyasaland. *Edward Marcus*, "Large Scale Investment and Development—the Dilemma of the Gabon Republic," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, v. 9, Oct. 1960: Concludes

The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865, by P. J. Staudenraus (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 323 pages, \$6.

Professor Staudenraus views the colonization movement as a valid part of the nineteenth century humanitarian movement. Its promoters believed slavery to be an evil, but they were convinced that the presence in the United States of a different race was a greater evil. Their solution, African colonization, would gradually end slavery, return the Negroes to their rightful homeland, Christianize Africa and open up new trade opportunities for Americans.

The colonization society eventually faced strong opposition from both the abolitionists and the slaveholders. Its colonizing efforts proved to be a dismal failure. After the Civil War its efforts seemed, in retrospect, to be hardly worth remembering. Yet the colonization society was the only ben-

evolent group, as such, to attempt to work out a solution to the race problem which would be fair to all groups involved. And this was a major concern of many. Such individuals as James G. Birney, Sarah M. Grimke, Arthur Tappan and Gerrit Smith are best known as abolitionists, but at one time or another they were all colonizationists.

At last we have a history of the American Colonization Society that places the organization in its proper time perspective. Previously, those historians who did not overlook its significance entirely tended to join the ranks either of its advocates or its critics. Clearly, African colonization was a complex question and is not easily reduced to the simple formula of those on the side of the angels and those who were not. Hopefully, the lesson will not be lost in the contemporary efforts to rediscover Africa's past. —Larry Gara

that large scale projects are useful, but they should not waste capital on highly mechanized units which barely affect the economy.

Portuguese Africa—*James Duffy*, "Portugal in Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, v. 39, April 1961: An exploration and condemnation of Portuguese policy, concluding that an unyielding attitude faced with expansion of revolutionary activity among the Africans makes for future explosions and "no easy answer" to policy questions. *Anonymous*, "The Kingdom of Silence," *Harper's*, May 1961: An American businessman's expose of exploitation and repression in Angola.

International Affairs and General—*Walter Z. Laqueur*, "Communism and Nationalism in Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, v. 39, July 1961: Another in a growing list of analyses that find important differences between "Afro-Communists" and orthodox Marxist-Leninists. Suggests the possibility of an eventual clash between USSR and radical nationalist governments in Africa on the order of what has occurred in the Middle East. *David T. Cattell*, "Communism and the African Negro," *Problems of Communism*, v. 8, Sept.-Oct. 1959: Identifies early tactical errors of USSR in an effort to

influence African independence movements, but notes that the shift to co-operation with African nationalist leaders can reward an endeavor "not notably successful" at the time of writing. *Elsbeth Huxley*, "The Next-to-Last Act in Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, v. 39, July 1961: A survey of decolonization in multi-racial territories and the political expression of pan-Africanism, which sees "black racialism . . . on the rampage" in Central Africa, the forces of disintegration at work in Kenya, a "trend toward dictatorship" in Ghana and the possibility of external help to native uprisings in South Africa. *Grant McConnell*, "Africa and the American," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, v. 37, Winter 1961: Recognizes that the US has an "ideology" in common with the new Africa, but demands distinctions between responsible and irresponsible governments and between what is essential to democracy and what is not, if American policy is to be successful. *Kenneth T. Young, Jr.*, "New Politics in the New States," *Foreign Affairs*, v. 39, April 1961: A sensible and literate framework for viewing problems of political development, separating into three main areas — environmental, operational, and conceptual.

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Africa's Diamonds

(Continued from page 2)

put of Sierra Leone Selection Trust. Secondly, the sales of all diamonds exported by the USSR outside the Soviet bloc have also been handled by the CSO since the end of 1959. At the end of 1960, the CSO agreement with the USSR was extended, and the various five-year agreements with African countries were also renewed for further similar periods. The only exceptions were Ghana and Guinea, which have set up their own diamond markets, independent of the CSO, respectively at Accra and at Kankan. However, the Kankan diamond market will soon disappear as the result of the final, complete nationalization of Guinea's diamond industry. The sale of diamonds will then be handled entirely by the State.

In order to offset the loss to the Central Selling Organization and its customers of the Ghana production—largely drilling material and bort, the market for which is to a great extent dependent on stockpiling by the US Government and therefore unpredictable—De Beers has recently decided to install additional recovery plant at the Premier Diamond Mine near Pretoria, South Africa in order to raise its output of this material. A decision has also been made to reopen the old De Beers Mine at Kimberley, South Africa, closed since 1908, and it is expected that recovery will begin by the end of 1963 and that full production will have been achieved by 1966.

In order to safeguard against any dislocation from possible interruption of supplies of natural bort from the Congo as a result of the disturbed political conditions, a De Beers subsidiary (Ultra High Pressure Units Limited) will soon start the manufacture of synthetic industrial diamonds at Springs, near Johannesburg. This synthetic material is already being produced on a considerable scale in America by General Electric. As long as supplies of Congo bort are delivered in a normal manner—as is still the case—the factory will operate on a restricted basis, but it will be capable of producing “a very large caratage” of synthetic industrial material.

Meanwhile, the search for more sources of diamonds continues over wide areas in Africa—in South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, as well as in Tanganyika.

(Contributed by Henk F. Kolff, Editor, Africa Economic Newsletter.)

Notice to Subscribers

We have had a number of inquiries from libraries and individual subscribers about the lack of a September issue. As noted in our August (p. 4) and October (p. 2) issues, *Africa Report* is published 11 times a year and there will customarily be no September issue.

Waldemar Nielsen to Head AAI

Waldemar A. Nielsen, an executive of the Ford Foundation and a specialist in the problems of world educational and cultural development, has been elected President of the African-American Institute, it was announced on November 1 by the organization's Board of Trustees. Mr. Nielsen, 44, assumes the functions and duties formerly shared by Dr. Emory Ross, as the Institute's President, and Loyd V. Steere, its Executive Vice-President, both of whom have retired from the active management of the organization. They will remain members of its Board of Trustees.

Mr. Nielsen comes to his new post after a career in the field of education and international relations. A graduate of the universities of Missouri and Wisconsin and a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, he has been successively university teacher, research social scientist, government official, and foundation administrator of economic, social, and educational development projects throughout the world. In addition, he is a well-known writer in scientific and general publications on questions of foreign policy and international educational development.

After a short period of teaching political science and economics at the universities of Missouri and Wisconsin before World War II, Mr. Nielsen entered government service in 1940 as research director in the United States Department of Agriculture. He was later on active duty in the Pacific as an officer on a US Navy destroyer. In 1945 and 1946 Mr. Nielsen travelled through China, Korea, and Japan evaluating the social consequences of war and aerial bombardment in that area. A major aspect of this research related to the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

From 1946 to 1952 he was engaged in planning of postwar measures for social and economic recovery, first in the State Department in connection with legislation for the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program, and subsequently in the Department of Commerce where he served as Special Assistant to the Secretary with responsibilities for the formulation and development of the European Recovery Program. During the lifetime of the Marshall Plan, Mr. Nielsen served at its European Headquarters in Paris as Assistant to the US Special Representative and as Director of Information Programs. In this capacity he was responsible for informational, educational, and technical training activities throughout the 18 Marshall Plan countries.

Since 1952, when he joined the Ford Foundation, Mr. Nielsen has been concerned, initially, with the advancement of the social sciences in the United States through grants for the training of scientists, the development of collaborative research among



scientists from different disciplines, and the strengthening of a number of outstanding research and training institutions in this general field.

Later, after a three-year period as Assistant to the President of the Ford Foundation, during which he was involved largely with general management responsibilities, Mr. Nielsen became, in 1956, associate director of the Foundation's International Affairs Program. In this capacity he has been engaged with exchange programs involving scholars and scientists from many parts of the world, with the financing of research projects throughout Western Europe on major economic, social, and public affairs problems, and with the creation and endowment of centers of training and research in these fields.

He has also served as consultant to the White House and other governmental agencies on foreign policy and scientific problems. He was executive director of the 1960 President's Committee on Information Activities Abroad, and is currently serving as consultant to the State Department on cultural and educational affairs.

Dr. Ross, retiring President, spent the bulk of his career as an American missionary in Africa and is the author of several books and articles. He is considered the dean of American leaders who have worked for mutual understanding between this country and Africa. He continues to serve a wide range of groups as consultant on questions related to Africa's social and cultural development.

Mr. Steere assumed executive leadership of the Institute in 1958 after a lifetime career in the Foreign Service. He served in various European diplomatic posts and just before joining the Institute was consul-general in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In his three-year stewardship, the Institute witnessed a rapid expansion of its scholarship and teacher placement activities to almost the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. The Institute also publishes *Africa Report*.

